

“RAISED MONEY BY HOOK AND CROOK, GOT MY PAPER OUT”:
SUNSHINE AND SHADOW IN THE LIFE SEASONS OF EDITOR
AND PHYSICIAN DR. ELIHU S. McINTIRE (1832–1899)

by
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ABSTRACT

Dr. Elihu S. McIntire (1832–1899) grew up on farms in Ohio and Indiana and was a physician who served as an assistant surgeon with the 78th Illinois Infantry Regiment during the Civil War. He practiced briefly in Dallas City, Illinois, and Grantsburg, Crawford County, Indiana, before settling in Mitchell, Lawrence County, Indiana, where he spent the last 30-plus years of his life. He served as editor and proprietor of the *Mitchell (IN) Commercial* from 1872 to 1883. This dissertation in the form of a cultural biography traces his life story based on 13 personal diaries and more than 100 issues of the *Commercial* that have survived to the present day. It applies James Carey’s approach to cultural history in attempting to capture the “way in which men in the past have grasped reality,” “how action made sense from the standpoint of historical actors,” and the “structure of feeling” that existed in McIntire’s time and place. It attempts to paint McIntire as a real person, considering both his fine points and flaws in the many roles he fulfilled as husband, father, doctor, journalist, and citizen. This dissertation identifies how McIntire’s life experiences shaped his journalism and how the practice of his craft later influenced his declining years. It also uses framing and textual silences as analytical tools to consider how McIntire himself, his contemporaries, and this biographer employed these two devices in the telling of McIntire’s story. It also argues that framing and textual silences cannot be studied or employed independently of each other and suggests that they can be combined in historiography generally and in cultural biography specifically.

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PREFACE

One day when I was 12, my mother came home with a large pack of Bazooka Cherry bubble gum. Mind you, this was not your one-cent, one-inch-square package of rock-hard gum with the wrapper that never quite came off completely, even when you peeled and scraped repeatedly. No, this was the *big* chunk of fresh bubble gum the size of a three-by-five card, and I wanted it. All of it.

When I asked for the whole thing, Mom said, “I’ll give you a little, and we’ll save the rest for later.”

I took the piece she gave me and thought, *No matter, Mom. I know where your stash is.*

That hiding place was Mom and Dad’s walk-in closet in our tan-brick, ranch-style house at 499 W. Erie Street in Chandler, Arizona. Fun and weird things happened in that closet. It was big and it was dark. It became a favorite hide-and-seek spot for my four younger sisters and me. And in one corner of it, among my dad’s pairs of Sunday shoes, our calico cat Fresca gave birth to six kittens. I can still remember the smell of that closet: a mix of old shag carpet, Kiwi Black shoe polish, and Mom’s perfume.

I waited a couple of days and then went gum hunting. I knew it would be on the high shelf, straight in from the door. I grabbed the first thing available nearby to use as a step stool, which turned out to be a dark-brown, wooden box that contained the old surveyor’s transit that belonged to my great-grandfather, Henry McIntire. After retrieving

my prize, I slid the transit box back into place. Next to it on the floor under Dad's dress shirts was a cardboard box I had never noticed before, which was filled with old, leather-bound books. The tan calfskin caught my eye, and I sat down next to the box to get a closer look. I picked up the top book and read "Elihu S. McIntire. Mitchell, Indiana. January 1, 1888," written on the inside cover. On the title page was printed, "THE STANDARD DIARY 1888. PUBLISHED FOR THE TRADE."

I turned to the first diary entry for the year: January 1, 1888. Halfway down the page in squat, cursive script, I read: "Henry is at home. We got no letter from the girls in Kansas or from Mary." I knew that "Henry" referred to my great-grandfather, but I wasn't sure about "the girls" or "Mary." Being more interested in my Bazooka booty and in a bit of a hurry to avoid getting caught by my mother, I placed the book back into the box and slipped out of the closet.

At the time I did not think much of that encounter with my great-great-grandfather's diaries. As a preteen I was more concerned about surviving each day without getting beat up as a seventh-grader at Chandler Junior High School and figuring out why Mary Wenzel, a rosy-cheeked, clarinet player with braces, had suddenly become so interesting to me in my first-period band class. But something about those old handwritten books must have stuck with me because inexplicably I started my own diary just a few weeks later, which I have kept up intermittently from that day to this.

Over the next few years I heard occasional references to Elihu in conversations with my extended family. Grandpa McIntire was an amateur painter and signed "ELIHU" to his works—two of which have been displayed in my own living room. I had a vague understanding that Elihu fought in the Civil War, was a practicing physician, published a

newspaper, and lived most of his life in Indiana, just as my great-grandfather, grandfather, and father had done after him. We moved from Arizona to Utah a few months after my bubblegum caper, and the diaries went with us, essentially undisturbed, taking up space in one of many boxes in our basement.

My next “encounter” with Elihu McIntire was when I was 21. Grandpa McIntire, a widower by this time, needed a traveling companion to drive from Utah to his 55th high-school reunion in Mitchell, Indiana. We drove across the country in style in Grandpa's 1973 chocolate-brown, four-door, white-vinyl-topped Buick Electra. After arriving in Mitchell, Grandpa drove me around to show me where his house used to be and to visit a number of old friends—ladies, mostly, who all told me how handsome I was (I figured that was what they were *supposed* to say). My overall impression was that Mitchell, Indiana, in 1985 was a prosperous, friendly town and Grandpa was proud of it. I deeply regret now that at the time I had little interest in the history of Mitchell or in the story of four generations of McHoosiers, starting with Elihu.

Time softens us as we age, however, and often we feel drawn to our roots and to the people who preceded us. Such was the case with me. Within three years after my first visit to Mitchell I enlisted in the Army National Guard. Part of the reason I joined was to honor the military legacy in my family: my father, who served in the California National Guard during Vietnam; my maternal grandfather, Carlos Rodriguez, an ambulance driver in World War II; my great-grandfather, James Tipton Hunt, was a cavalryman in the Spanish-American War in 1898 and served under General John “Black Jack” Pershing in the 1916–1917 Mexican Expedition; and Elihu McIntire, my great-great-grandfather, who was a surgeon in the 78th Illinois Infantry Regiment during the Civil War. His unit

trained hard and was prepared for battle, but he rarely, if ever, heard a shot fired in anger during his six months in the Army.

I often thought of Elihu during my 26-year military career and particularly during two periods in the latter part of my service. The first was when I was attending a four-month leadership course for field-grade officers at Fort Lee, Virginia, in 2008. It happened to have one of Elihu's diaries with me, and I began transcribing it and photographing its pages in my room in the evenings when I had downtime. To this day I don't know why I took the diary with me on that trip. We students studied and toured some Civil War battlefields in Virginia during that time, and knowing that my great-great-grandfather served during that war somehow helped me feel closer to him.

The second instance was my deployment in support of Operation Enduring Freedom. I was stationed in the Horn of Africa (in Djibouti just a few miles from the border with Somalia) for six months during 2011–2012. The area was considered a combat zone, but like Elihu, I did not experience hostile fire. I imagined how hard it was for him to be away from his family because I was away from mine during the same time of year. He served from Fall 1862 to Spring 1863, and I was in Africa from Fall 2011 to Spring 2012.

A year after my return from Africa, I enrolled in Kimberley Mangun's Historical Research Methods in Communication class in Spring 2013. For my semester project I chose to write a comparative study of the content of Elihu's 1878 diary (the only diary that coincided with his newspaper period) and the 103 surviving copies of his newspaper, the *Mitchell Commercial*. My final presentation was well received by my classmates, and Professor Mangun encouraged me to present my research on Elihu at the American

Journalism Historians Association fall conference in New Orleans later that year, which I did. My paper was selected as a finalist for the Robert Lance Award at the conference.

Based on those encouraging developments, as well as my deep interest in the topic, I have chosen to build on my previous research and write my dissertation in the form of a cultural biography of Elihu McIntire. This decision raises an interesting question for me as a direct descendant, historian, and scholar: As a McIntire myself, how do I appropriately combine my personal passion for telling Elihu's story with the professional detachment required to write a history that is faithful to the evidence? I acknowledge that Elihu's legacy is inextricably tied to my own life story. We are both military men with a deep love for this country; we are both diarists; we both love the written word—he as a journalist and I as a communication scholar; and upon successful defense of my dissertation, we will both share the same title: Dr. McIntire. The duty I owe to both my family and my profession seems at odds in writing Elihu's story, and I feel the weight of that burden.

But the words of John F. Kennedy in his 1961 inaugural address have been an inspiration to me as I contemplate this project: "I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it." I make no excuses in acknowledging that I am a direct descendent of the subject of this study. I welcome the chance to tell the story of physician, editor, soldier, and citizen Dr. Elihu S. McIntire from the position of insider. That standpoint allows me to draw upon his unpublished personal diaries as a window into his innermost thoughts and feelings. That knowledge, coupled with the oral histories and personal effects passed down through his descendants, provides a compelling subplot to the drama played out publicly in Elihu's own newspaper, other newspapers' accounts of his journalistic and

civic work, and the biographical sketches of his life from the period. My shared experiences with him may very well give me *greater* insight into what Elihu might have felt as he faced personal and professional challenges, which I can then weave into the pages of this dissertation.

Nevertheless, I am particularly sensitive to the concern that this undertaking might result in a hagiographical representation of the life of my great-great-grandfather. To avoid that outcome it is absolutely critical that I understand and follow sound and scholarly methodology in writing his history. Therefore, I will include in the Method section of this dissertation a basic review of the historical method not only to demonstrate that I understand the process, but also to formally remind myself that my primary role in this research and writing process is as scholar and not as cheerleader. Making it my goal to render a balanced representation of his life and being willing to address Elihu's flaws along with his fine points will help assist me in reaching that goal.

In keeping with the genre of a cultural biography, elaborating the setting in which his life unfolded can be just as vital to comprehend as the man himself. Writing McIntire's cultural history by being faithful to the evidence, which includes both primary sources and family lore, will also ensure that the life story of Dr. Elihu S. McIntire is told from both my professional and personal standpoints, and which will allow me to tell it compellingly and accurately in a way that no one else can.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven.

—*Ecclesiastes 3:1*

*1876: Have been in the mail service eleven months to-day.
Do not like such a life, am to[o] much from home.¹*

1878: Raised money by hook and crook, got my paper out.²

*1881: We have been running the COMMERCIAL for a long time because we had to,
it was for bread and meat for our children. Now we intend to print it
because [we] don't have to. It will be red-hot, you bet.³*

*1897: I made application for license to practice medicine,
under a new law, I want to die in the harness.⁴*

*1898: The day was like May: the birds were out in force and their songs were heard in
every tree. It is such a day as to make an old invalid like myself feel glad to be alive.⁵*

— *From the newspaper and diaries of Elihu S. McIntire*

“Dr. McIntire Is Dead.” So read the headline in the May 11, 1899, edition of the *Mitchell Commercial*, a local weekly newspaper, which reported the passing of 67-year-old Elihu S. McIntire, a prominent physician in Southern Indiana’s Lawrence County.⁶

McIntire was remembered this way in that same edition of the *Commercial*:

Dr. McIntire was one of the best known men in Lawrence county where he has lived for about 35 years, first engaged as a practicing physician and later as editor and proprietor of this paper. He edited the COMMERCIAL for eleven years and

under his masterful hand the paper enjoyed great prosperity and was the leading paper of Lawrence County and a recognized Republican exponent for Southern Indiana. He had a brilliant mind with a vein of wit that often found vent in pungent paragraphs and caustic editorials.⁷

According to the article, McIntire was also a member of the local Methodist church, two Masonic lodges, and Grand Army of the Republic, an organization comprised of veterans of the Union Army from the Civil War. Attesting to McIntire's prominence, the account also mentioned a queue of 40 carriages in the funeral cortege that moved through his hometown of Mitchell, population 1,772, from the funeral to the cemetery.⁸

Of course, the paper McIntire owned and edited from 1872 to 1883 would be expected to lionize him in its pages at the time of his passing. However, other accounts written during his lifetime similarly laud him and his many accomplishments. A short sketch of McIntire from an 1880 publication contained a summary of his activities and achievements: he taught school at age 19; entered Keokuk (Iowa) Medical College at 22 and graduated and entered private practice in Illinois at 24; received an appointment in 1862 as assistant surgeon of the 78th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment during the Civil War, resigning just six months later due to ill health; fathered six children; was actively involved in the Republican Party; and used his newspaper to further the interests of both his political party and the city of his residence.⁹ An 1884 account of his life praised McIntire this way: "As a journalist, physician, and citizen, no man in the county is more popular, and the county would be much better off had it more such men as Dr. McIntire."¹⁰

Within his community, and particularly in his own family, McIntire's influence and good reputation continued on long after his death. His granddaughters, Beulah Frances McIntire Ruch (1913–1994) and Margaret McIntire Rimstidt (1910–2000),

carefully preserved 13 of McIntire's diaries, as well as other personal papers and books, passing them down to McIntire's direct descendants.¹¹ His grandson, Earl Henry McIntire (1910–1988), loaned nearly 100 original copies of his grandfather's newspaper to the Indiana Historical Society in 1976 for microfilming, which created a permanent—albeit incomplete—record of McIntire's journalistic writings. Earl also told stories about Elihu to his children and grandchildren, and when he took up painting as a hobby in his sixties, he signed “ELIHU” to his each of his works in tribute to the grandfather he never knew.¹²

Purpose of Study

That McIntire was such a commanding figure in Lawrence County in the late 1800s certainly merits closer study of his life on that basis alone. A careful review of the surviving editions of the newspaper he published would indeed corroborate his clout in the community and the power of his pen. There is no doubt that a compelling narrative would emerge if McIntire's public record—his own professional writings, as well as third-party accounts about him—were contrasted with his private diaries and papers. Such a story could reveal a man who influenced and was, in turn, shaped by a significant cross section of small-town and rural life in south-central Indiana in the latter half of the 19th century.

The primary purpose of this dissertation, then, is to tell that very story in the form of a cultural biography. Biography is defined by Merriam-Webster as “the story of a real person's life written by someone other than that person.”¹³ Many biographies work chronologically, simply offering a sequence of events and interesting anecdotes that occurred between the birth and death of the subject. Sadly, other biographies, and in particular those of journalists, “have been sentimental and impressionistic,” according to

David Sloan and Michael Stamm, or as Allan Nevins observed, “prepared with an eye to pious commemoration, or profitable promotion.”¹⁴ In contrast, a *cultural* biography or history attempts to explore the mind-set of the individual to understand the motivation behind decisions and behavior.

Communication theorist James Carey indicated that the cultural approach “is not concerned merely with events but with the thought within them,” as well as the “way in which men in the past have grasped reality.”¹⁵ Similarly, Hanno Hardt lamented the many “press histories since the nineteenth century [that] have failed to produce meaningful descriptions of working journalists or printers and reveal their existential conditions throughout the centuries.”¹⁶ Having access to McIntire’s personal diaries and papers will not only help capture his existential condition, but it will also offer a picture of day-to-day happenings, contacts, and milestones, providing the storyteller with the closest thing to McIntire’s innermost thoughts and feelings, thus helping researcher and reader to better understand his politics, professional choices, personal challenges and faults, his relationship with this family, and what prompted him to do what he did during his lifetime.

Given McIntire’s breadth of experience and influence, a dissertation that merely offered the sequence of his life history would not do justice to the man. As James Davidson and Mark Lytle explained, “good history *begins* with a good story,” which implies that the telling of the story is only a *starting* point, and thus it will be with this study. While McIntire does have a compelling story to tell, that story must be situated in its corresponding time and place and understood on its own terms.¹⁷ It is a safe assumption that had McIntire lived in a place and time other than the ones under consideration here, his life would have turned out quite differently than it did in Mitchell,

Indiana. Therefore, elaborating the setting in which his editorial life unfolded could be just as vital to comprehend as the man himself. Giving appropriate attention to that milieu will provide context for how McIntire grasped the reality of supporting his family, handling the hazards of age and infirmity, informing his newspaper readers, and boosting his community.¹⁸ In terms of western expansion in the 19th century, according to Daniel Boorstin, a booster was one who demonstrated “a preoccupation with the growth and prosperity of one’s city.”¹⁹ As editor of the *Commercial*, McIntire was ideally placed to fulfill this role because if the town prospered, so would the newspaper, in a mutually beneficial cycle.

It was 1974 when Carey published his article, “The Problem of Journalism History,” in which he called for a cultural history of journalism where historical events themselves were less of a focus than the circumstances, thoughts, feelings, and motivations of the historical actors behind them. That seminal essay exercised great influence on the course of journalism history in general. Carolyn Marvin spoke for a number of scholars when she said in 1990, “There are audiences, journals, and scholars eager to take up the cultural perspective Carey called for.”²⁰ Historians, such as Marion Marzolf, first talked of *operationalizing* Carey, or in other words, how to apply what Carey enjoined. She offered that a cultural history of journalism should include three aspects: the individuals in the profession, what they produced, and the culture that developed within that profession.²¹ Other scholars emphasized different aspects of Carey’s clarion call, such as Jerilyn McIntyre, who wrote of *oppositionalizing* Carey, by which she meant that his cultural approach—which she equated with his ritual model of communication—should be acknowledged in “the political and cultural implications of the interrelationships among technology, power, and control of information, [as well as]

their impact on ‘ways of thinking’ in our culture.”²² These are but two examples of historians who forged ahead, following Carey’s lead.

Some historians, however, were not sure at all how to carry on Carey’s cause. David Paul Nord said in a 2006 tribute shortly after Carey’s death, “Like my professors at Wisconsin (where Nord completed graduate work), I never quite figured out how to do the historical research that [Carey] thought should be done.”²³ Many—this writer included—are *still* figuring, but the literature review herein will identify cultural aspects of recent biographies of diarists and journalists that can be applied to McIntire as an individual in his profession, what he produced within the culture of his trade, and the implications of the many interrelationships, political and otherwise, that he was a part of during his journalistic career and beyond.

As novel as Carey’s approach might have been at the time, and as I attempt to apply his suggestions within the cultural-biography genre, I must still remember and incorporate the three basic components of historiography that Sloan and Stamm identified: evidence, interpretation, and narrative.²⁴ According to Merriam-Webster, *historiography* has two meanings. One is “the writing of history based on the critical examination of sources, the selection of particulars from the authentic materials, and the synthesis of particulars into a narrative that will stand the test of critical methods,” and the other is simply “the product of historical writing.”²⁵ The first definition relates to the *process* of writing history, while the second considers the *product* that results from that effort. When this dissertation refers to historiography, it generally pertains to the *process* of writing history, and the tension between process and product will be treated further within the recurring themes of transmission and ritual, as well as in the construct of framing.

The challenge faced by any biographer—cultural or otherwise—is how to characterize their subject based on the evidence available. Even when that evidence consists of writings by the subject themselves, not every experience, thought, feeling, or motive is recorded. Omissions from the record, whether calculated or unintentional, can be frustrating to historians in general and have been to this one in particular during this project. However, such silences have the potential to actually *inform* the interpretation of the evidence as the biographer frames the narrative.

Regarding the concept of framing, Robert Entman suggested that “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text.”²⁶ Salience “means making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences.”²⁷ It follows, then, that at the same time some information is made less noticeable, less meaningful, or less memorable. Thus, without realizing it, both the subject and the biographer engage in framing by foregrounding certain information in their writings, while at the same time they create textual silences by giving less emphasis to or completely omitting other aspects of the story. Thomas Huckin, the pioneer in the study of textual silences and coiner of that descriptive phrase, observed that “often what is *not* said or written can be as important, if not more so, than what *is*.”²⁸ The following example from McIntire’s diary illustrates this importance: On May 10, 1896, he wrote: “[My daughter] Mary’s daughter, Lorena, died this morning at 5:10. [My son] Henry went to Cincinnati at 8. I was most of the day in bed, suffering very badly. Got my Pension check.” The suffering that McIntire refers to in this entry seems to have little to do with the death of his six-year-old granddaughter Lorena; rather, it could be attributed more conclusively to the chronic pains he experienced almost daily due to his invalid condition, which he faithfully documented in his diaries.²⁹ He makes no

expression of emotion or sorrow in that May 10 entry, nor does he revisit Lorena's death again in his diaries other than to comment that one or another of his sons traveled to Cincinnati, where Lorena and her family lived, to be with their sister Mary.

This particular textual silence prompts a number of questions, such as these regarding McIntire's relationship with his children and grandchildren: Why did McIntire not express more emotion about the death of his little granddaughter? Was he not moved by the tragedy that his daughter was experiencing? Was it considered inappropriate in that era to express deep emotion even in one's private diary? This example illustrates not only the power of the unsaid or unwritten text, but also the inseparability of framing and textual silences, whether in the telling of one personal tragedy or an entire life story.

The purpose of this dissertation, then, is to get as close as possible to McIntire's lived experience through the crafting of his cultural biography and to use framing and textual silences as analytical tools to help tell that story.

Significance

The significance of this study first emerges in those very accounts of McIntire's life already cited. The observer would logically conclude that he must have been a significant-enough figure in Lawrence and neighboring counties in Indiana to merit the praise given him in the closing decades of his life and immediately after his death. Adding to that significance is the sheer volume of public and private records of McIntire's life and writings that have survived to this day. Along with the 100-plus surviving issues of the *Commercial* that list his name below the masthead, his diary entries from the years 1871, 1876, 1878–1879, 1884, 1888, 1891–1892, and 1895–1899

consist of 3,007 handwritten entries that fill more than 400 transcribed pages. It would be a historical and intellectual tragedy to leave such resources untapped.

Despite his lifelong devotion to medicine, a careful review of McIntire's own diaries and life sketches written about him reveal that his professional life was primarily defined by the 11 years he spent as a journalist and newspaper editor. However, he also plied a number of other trades and pursuits, including schoolteacher, soldier, insurance agent, businessman, entrepreneur, geologist, freemason, and printer.³⁰ Other occupations included notary public and booster.³¹ All of these activities and more speak to McIntire's diverse interests and influence in his community and point to the value of conducting this study, if for nothing else, the biographical value that it will offer.

The wealth of historical, primary-source evidence contained in McIntire's diaries and newspaper also situate this research as unique. He was not the only example of a 19th-century physician who became a newspaper editor, however. Dr. Charles H. Ray (1821–1870) edited the *Galena (IL) Jeffersonian* and later became part owner and chief editor of the *Chicago Tribune* from 1855 to 1863.³² Ellet J. Waggoner (1855–1916) was a physician on the staff at the Battle Creek, Michigan, sanatorium, and from 1883 to 1905 he served as editor of Adventist publications in the U.S. and Britain.³³ Louis C. Roudanez (1823–1890), a Black practicing physician in Louisiana, started the *Tribune* in New Orleans and served as owner and editor of the French and English publication. It quickly became “the Black voice of Louisiana,” being the first Black daily in the United States.³⁴ However, none of the studies of these physician-turned-editors cited private-diary records as sources.

There are also examples of published diaries of physicians and caregivers of the period. Steven Stowe edited and published the diaries of Dr. Charles A. Hentz, a medical

doctor who practiced in the Florida panhandle in the years prior to and during the Civil War.³⁵ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich crafted a compelling narrative based on the diaries of Martha Ballard, a midwife in New England at the turn of the 19th century.³⁶ These were detailed personal accounts of the lives of individual practitioners, who remained fully involved in medicine for their entire careers, and much of their diary writing focused on their profession.

Like Ray, Waggoner, and Roudanez, McIntire left the medical profession to edit publications, and like Hentz and Ballard, he kept a regular diary of his activities. Unlike these individuals, however, McIntire combined both in leaving both public *and* private records in the form of the *Commercial* and his personal diary.

In McIntire's case, examining his newspaper alone could yield a rich—though incomplete—narrative about his politics, but it would also leave thinly told the daily and weekly struggle to simultaneously print his paper or work in his career *du jour*, see the occasional patient—which he did throughout his professional life—and attend to the needs of his family, which only his diary could reveal. As noted previously, both Carey and Hardt cautioned against one-dimensional approaches to the historiography of journalism. Examining McIntire's diary can draw back the curtain to reveal the challenges he faced in publishing a post-Civil War newspaper, not to mention the financial and health-related reverses that plagued him long after he put down his editorial pen, all of which would likely have been transparent to his readers, admirers, and enemies.

Regarding personal narratives such as McIntire's, Ann Fabian observed that “individual articulations of experience launch the process of communication [that] is in fact the process of community.”³⁷ Sally Foreman Griffith, in her biography of William

Allen White, publisher and editor of the *Emporia (Kansas) Daily Gazette* from 1895 to 1944, wrote that “White insisted that the growth of true community depended upon communication He envisioned the small-town newspaper as an agent of community, in which seemingly unimportant local news unified the town’s residents.”³⁸ Accordingly, McIntire’s private writings situate him not only as an individual in his community, but also as an example of how community emerges through communicative practices, and again offer a *starting* point for a good story, in this case for his public pronouncements, giving context and texture to his editorials.

In keeping with the stated purpose of this dissertation to first tell McIntire’s story from a cultural-biography perspective, this study responds to Carey’s, Hardt’s, Fabian’s and Griffith’s injunctions to go beyond compiling an interesting sequence of events and get to the thought, feeling, and struggle that constituted McIntire’s life.

Chapters

This introduction clarified my topic, its purpose and significance and offers an outline of the remaining chapters. The Chapter Two Review of Literature addresses 19th-century journalism for the time period that corresponds to McIntire’s professional journalistic career, a general description of the lives of local-newspaper editors of the period, and examples of biographies that follow the cultural-history approach as advocated by James Carey. These three elements of the literature situate McIntire in his time and place and provide the foundation for the narrative chapters that will constitute his cultural biography later in the dissertation.

Chapter Three covers method and theory. The part of this chapter that addresses the *specific* methods to be used in this study will be brief, as suggested by Sloan and

Stamm: “While research methods, whether quantitative or traditional, are critical in historical study, probably no more than one paragraph of a narrative should be devoted to the description of the methods. The quality of the research should be evident from the narrative.”³⁹ However, more space will be devoted in this chapter to the description of historical methods *in general*. The theory portion of Chapter Three highlights how framing theory and textual silences can be useful analytical tools for enhancing cultural-history methodology.

As the dissertation will show, much of McIntire’s energies during his lifetime were devoted to his roles as farmer and journalist. In the first case, as a man of the soil, he paid close attention to the signs of the seasons, which included the weather, leaves on the trees, the maturing of his fruit and grain, and the life cycles of his animals. In the second case, McIntire, the man of letters, crafted newspaper copy and penned diary entries, both of which are inextricably woven into the fabric of the daily, monthly, and yearly calendar. Both the seasons and the calendar repeat themselves year after year in a ritual familiar to every human being, then and now.

In keeping with McIntire’s seasonal and chronological consciousness, the narrative portion of this dissertation, which will constitute the cultural biography of his life, will be divided into Chapters Four through Seven, which correspond to the four seasons of winter, spring, summer, and fall. A popular reference book of the period, to which McIntire could have had access, defined *seasons* this way:

The quarters of the year, [which] are determined astronomically by the apparent movements of the sun (the real movements of the earth) in the ecliptic. The passage of the sun across the equator, bringing on days of greater length than the nights, marks the vernal or spring equinox, and occurs about March 21 for the northern hemisphere and Sept. 23 for the southern. These dates also mark the autumnal equinox or commencement of the autumn, the hemispheres being

reversed. The summer solstice . . . begins in the northern hemisphere . . . about June 21, and the winter solstice about Dec. 21.⁴⁰

There is only an 11-day difference between the starting calendar date of each season and the first day of the following month. For the purposes of this dissertation, then, the Winter chapter draws from McIntire's record that covers the months of January through March and explores themes that have some connection to that season. The Spring, Summer, and Fall chapters follow a similar pattern for the periods of April–June, July–September, and October–December, respectively.

The characteristics of the four seasons also lend themselves to the utility of exploring McIntire's life in this manner. Winter's cold, hard ground forms the foundation for the success of subsequent seasons. On the surface, nature appears to be dormant during this time, but plants, animals, and humans are conserving energy and preparing in other ways for the coming seasons of growth and activity. Conveniently, McIntire was born in early January, and this event and other formative experiences in his life can appropriately be explored in Chapter Four, dedicated to the winter months. This chapter will also highlight the generations that preceded him, specifically his parents and his paternal and maternal grandparents, coming from Northern Ireland and Virginia, respectively. Also covered in the first narrative chapter will be McIntire's childhood and upbringing in Washington County, Ohio (1832–1839); and his first years in Spencer County, Indiana, (1839–1846). Rounding out Chapter Four are selected themes and occurrences as recorded in his diaries and newspaper during the months of January to March that inform the seasonal flavor of the Winter chapter.

Spring sees sprouts, blossoms, and leaves come forth, and McIntire's efforts to develop himself in personal and professional ways fit nicely into Chapter Five, Spring.

Experiences to be explored in this chapter include his days as a schoolteacher (1851–1856); as a medical student at Keokuk (Iowa) Medical College (1853–1856); his brief stint as a practicing physician in Dallas City, Illinois (1856–1862); his service as assistant surgeon of the 78th Illinois Volunteers during the Civil War (1862–1863); postwar civilian practice in Crawford County, Indiana (1863–1865); his move to Mitchell, Lawrence County, Indiana; the establishment of his medical practice; and other professional pursuits (1866–1871). Material from McIntire’s diaries and newspaper from the April–June period supplement the spring theme of Chapter Five.

The summer season showcases nature in her prime with her fullest greenery when growth is at its peak. McIntire’s newspaper years will occupy a significant portion of Chapter Six, Summer, as we observe him hit his stride as a person of influence in his community. Drawing from his private diaries (1876, 1878–1879) and surviving issues of his newspaper (1873, 1876, 1880–1882), Chapter Six not only covers McIntire’s term as editor of the *Mitchell Commercial* (1872–1883) but also his other professional activities and parallel interests to include his time in the U.S. Mail Service (1875–1876), geological study (1876), land speculation, intermittent medical practice, involvement in Masonic organizations, and his work as a booster in his community. Other summer-related snippets from the *Commercial* and McIntire’s diaries will also be included in this chapter.

Fall offers a balancing influence to the breakneck pace of summer’s activity. It is nature’s beginning of the end, but as the days become shorter and the leaves first turn and then begin to drop to the ground, it is arguably the most beautiful time of the year. Such a season is an apt metaphor for McIntire’s declining years as he moved beyond his editorial career, had a go at entrepreneurship (examining surgeon, pension-claim agent, and farmer), devoted more attention to his family, and endured his time as an “old invalid.”⁴¹

Yet his circumstances oblige him to be more reflective and aware of his limitations, some of which he confided in his diary, and we as observers can consider how his falling leaves may have nourished his family, colleagues, and community for the coming winter and future cycles of seasons. Source material for Chapter Seven, Fall, include his nine diaries from the years 1884, 1888, 1891–1892, and 1895–1899, as well as a number of references to McIntire in Indiana newspapers for that same period. Mentions in his newspaper and his diaries, which offer additional context for the October–December period are included in the Fall chapter. Admittedly, not every noteworthy event or enterprise in McIntire’s life can be neatly sorted into a seasonal sack, but this approach nonetheless offers a framework to organize and tell his story in a novel, yet meaningful, way.

As with the seasons, for McIntire the diarist, the traditional calendar enacted a familiar and functional ritual for documenting his life. He followed the convention of recording the day’s events in the spaces that corresponded to the preprinted calendar month, date, and year, and the purchasing or bartering for a new diary every January was a ritual unto itself.⁴² For McIntire the journalist, he adhered to a similar chronological custom as he printed his weekly newspaper each Thursday, based on the date indicated by the calendar for that particular year. A calendar framework can offer the same utility for cultural biographer and reader, informing the seasonal treatment of his life with themes and occurrences recorded in his diaries and newspaper that took place in his life and town in the months that correspond to the seasonally themed chapter. This approach affords a detailed look at the daily, monthly, and annual regimen associated with McIntire’s formative, family, medical, soldier, newspaper, entrepreneur, farmer, and bedridden years.

Such a cultural biography also creates space to weave in the threads of unique events and experiences that add texture and meaning to McIntire's story, which fills the complementary role of transmission to the ritual elaborated in Carey's model of communication.⁴³ In that conceptualization, the transmission aspect of communication "is defined by terms such as 'imparting,' 'sending,' 'transmitting,' or 'giving information to others,'" or in other words, the *content* of the message.⁴⁴ In ritual, by contrast, "communication is linked to terms such as 'sharing,' 'participation,' 'association,' 'fellowship'.... [or] the representation of shared beliefs," which privileges the *process* that surrounds the transmission of the message over the content of the message itself.⁴⁵ In this retelling of McIntire's life, the calendar and seasons represent a framework of repeating rituals that enhance the meaning of the transmission-like, singular events that occur within that process.

Following McIntire's lead in his attention to detail—more so in his newspaper than his diary—each of the seasonal chapters also offers the minutiae of his day-to-day existence. I have done this for two reasons, the first of which is to fulfill the purpose of cultural biography as advocated by Hardt and Carey, respectively: to capture the journalist's "existential conditions" and to "penetrate beyond mere appearance to the structure of imagination that gives [events] their significance."⁴⁶ Second, the aggregate of these seemingly small occurrences throughout McIntire's life, when recognized, can represent the foundational vignettes that informed McIntire's journalism when he later became editor of the *Mitchell Commercial*. The concluding paragraphs of the Winter, Spring, and Summer chapters will identify such shaping experiences. The Fall chapter will explore the reverse—how his journalism might have influenced his invalid years.

The Conclusion chapter will revisit both—his experiences and his journalism—and consider how they might have shaped each other.

After the narrative chapters of McIntire's life, Chapter Eight, Discussion, addresses topics that arose in the narrative chapters that merited further consideration and reflects on how the use of framing and textual silences as analytical tools may have enriched the biography as a whole. Chapter Nine draws conclusions and summarizes how McIntire's story adds to the body of knowledge, suggests what today's communication scholars might learn from McIntire's approach, and identifies further areas of research, such as how the relationship between framing and textual silences may be of use to other cultural-history scholars.

Notes from Chapter 1

¹ Elihu S. McIntire Diary (hereafter cited as ESM), January 17, 1876.

² ESM, October 28, 1878.

³ *The Mitchel Commercial*, December 1, 1881, 2.

⁴ ESM, May 29, 1897.

⁵ ESM, February 7, 1898.

⁶ *The Mitchell Commercial*, May 11, 1899, 4.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ United States Census, Lawrence County, Indiana, 1900; *Mitchell Commercial*, May 11, 1899, 4.

⁹ *A Biographical History of Eminent and Self-made Men of the State of Indiana* (Cincinnati: Western Biographical Publishing Company, 1880), 1:24.

¹⁰ *History of Lawrence, Orange and Washington Counties, Indiana: From the Earliest Time to the Present; Together with Interesting Biographical Sketches, Reminiscences, Notes, Etc.* (Chicago: Godspeed Bros. and Company, 1884), 297.

¹¹ According to the researcher's mother, Anna Maria Rodriguez McIntire Walser, the diaries were given by Beulah and Margaret to Earl Henry McIntire in 1968 with the understanding that they would be passed to Earl's son and daughter-in-law, Hank and Anna McIntire, the researcher's parents. As arranged, the diaries were given to Hank and Anna in 1971.

¹² The researcher is one of Earl's grandchildren. McIntire's diaries, as well two of Earl's paintings with the "ELIHU" inscription, are in the researcher's possession.

¹³ "Biography," Merriam-Webster.com. Accessed June 25, 2015. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/biography>.

¹⁴ W. David Sloan and Michael Stamm, *Historical Methods in Communication* (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2010), 220; Allan Nevins, "American Journalism and Its Historical Treatment," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 36 (1959): 413.

¹⁵ Carey, "Journalism History," 4, 5.

¹⁶ Hanno Hardt, "The Foreign-Language Press in American Press History," *Journal of Communication* 32, no. 2 (Spring 1989): 127.

¹⁷ James West Davidson and Mark Hamilton Lytle, *After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection* (Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill, 2000), xiv, italics added; see Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 49–78.

¹⁸ To boost is "to promote the cause or interests of." See "Boost," Merriam-Webster.com. Accessed March 8, 2017. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/boost>.

¹⁹ Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (Norwalk, CT: Easton Press, 1973), 134.

²⁰ Carolyn Marvin, "Reconsidering James Carey: How Many Rituals Does It Take to Make an Artifact?" *American Journalism* 7, no. 4 (Fall 1990): 216.

²¹ Marion Marzolf, "Operationalizing Carey—An Approach to the Cultural History of Journalism," *Journalism History* 2, no. 2 (Summer 1975): 42.

²² Jerilyn S. McIntyre, "Oppositionalizing Carey: James Carey's Search for an Ethic for Communication Studies," *American Journalism* 7, no. 4 (Fall 1990): 227–232.

²³ David Paul Nord, "James Carey and Journalism History: A Remembrance," *Journalism History* 32, no. 3 (Fall 2006): 122.

²⁴ Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 3.

²⁵ "Historiography," Merriam-Webster.com, accessed March 2, 2017, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/historiography>.

²⁶ Robert M. Entman, "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communication* 43, no. 4 (Autumn 1993): 52.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 53.

²⁸ Thomas N. Huckin, "Textual Silence and the Discourse of Homelessness," *Discourse & Society* 13, no. 3 (2002): 348, italics in the original.

²⁹ For examples, see ESM, May 17, 1891; March 29, 1892; January 30, 1895; and April 7, 1897.

³⁰ For examples, see ESM, January 9, 1896; October 26, 1898; March 7, 1871; June 29, 1888; November 29, 1871; February 11, 1876; March 20–21, 1876; June 27, 1878; March 1, 1871; February 11, 1884; January 4, 1888; March 1, 1876; January 26, 1878; and Steve Raymond, *In the Very Thickest of the Fight: The Civil War Service of the 78th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment* (Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 2012), 14, 83, 99.

³¹ See ESM, July 11, 1871; *History of Lawrence*, 107.

³² Richard Norton Smith, *The Colonel: The Life and Legend of Robert R. McCormick, 1880–1955* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997).

³³ David P. McMahon, *Ellet Joseph Waggoner, the Myth and the Man* (Fallbrook, CA: Verdict Publications, 1979).

³⁴ Joshua Butler, "From 'Just above Slave Level' to State Treasurer: Antoine Dubuclet and the Politics of Race in Reconstruction Louisiana," in *Before Obama: A Reappraisal of Black Reconstruction Era Politicians*, ed. Matthew Lynch (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2012), 110.

³⁵ Steven W. Stowe, ed., *A Southern Practice: The Diary and Autobiography of Charles A. Hentz, M.D.* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2000).

³⁶ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990).

³⁷ Ann Fabian, *The Unvarnished Truth: Personal Narratives in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 5.

³⁸ Sally Foreman Griffith, *Home Town News: William Allen White and the Emporia Gazette* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 159.

³⁹ Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 72.

⁴⁰ George Ripley and Charles A. Dana, eds., *American Cyclopaedia: A Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge, Vol. XIV* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1881).

⁴¹ For examples of how McIntire applied this moniker to himself, see ESM, February 7, March 31, and May 31, 1898.

⁴² For examples, see ESM, January 10, 1878; January 19, 1895.

⁴³ James W. Carey, "A Cultural Approach to Communication," in *Communication As Culture: Essays on Media and Society*, ed. James W. Carey (New York: Routledge, 1989), 14–23.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴⁶ Hardt, "The Foreign-Language Press," 127; Carey, "Journalism History," 4.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

God requireth that which is past.

—*Ecclesiastes 3:15*

The purpose of a literature review is to explore what has been researched and written about the subject in question and to situate the contemplated project in a chronological and conceptual context. To appropriately focus this review and to best inform the topic at hand, that of the life of Dr. Elihu S. McIntire, from a cultural, historical, and analytical standpoint, I have divided it into three areas as follows: Post-Civil War Journalism in America, Lives of Small-Town Newspaper Editors, and Examples of Cultural Biographies. As I explore in this section what historians have written on these topics, I will also include examples from McIntire's own record—public and private—that inform or offer a contrast to what cited scholars have claimed.

Post-Civil War Journalism in America

A few months after McIntire began his stint as owner and editor of the *Mitchell Commercial*, Frederic Hudson published his seminal work, *Journalism in the United States, from 1690 to 1872*. This volume, characterized at the time by *The New York Times*

as “the first attempt to give a complete and connected history of the American Press,” was generally praised by that paper as “an interesting and important work,” for its “brisk and lively style,” and “as one of the most important contributions to American literature.”¹ No other previous history of journalism was as comprehensive as Hudson's.

In his history Hudson offered a snapshot of what the American newspaper landscape looked like in 1870: 574 daily and 4,295 weekly newspapers nationwide with circulations of 2,601,547 and 10,594,643, respectively.² Consistent with these numbers, Hudson observed that newspapers “are read in preference to all other printed matter” and “are the national teachers, every where in circulation, easily and cheaply obtained, and always clear to the comprehension of everyone who can read.”³ In 1870 the U.S. literacy rate was 80 percent, which implies that newspapers could potentially reach and influence nearly every corner of the population.⁴

Citizens of the period relied on newspapers not only for information, but also as a stabilizing force in the community. Simon North stated that Americans depended heavily on the press “for the discharge of certain functions which society requires at certain hands, and upon the discharge of which the well-regulated daily life of the people depends.”⁵ More than a century later, Barbara Cloud came to a similar conclusion that the press at that time “was touted as capable of speedily educating people, advancing scientific knowledge, determining political outcomes, powerfully shaping opinion, and effecting world peace—in general, as being essential to the conduct of human affairs.”⁶ The newspaper continues to wield a similarly powerful influence in the conduct of human affairs today.

In keeping with Carey's communication model of transmission and ritual, the newspaper had in fact established itself as such a key thread in the national fabric that the

process surrounding its production and consumption was becoming at least as important as the *information* it conveyed. “Under a ritual view,” argued Carey, “news is not information but drama. It does not describe the world but portrays an arena of dramatic forces and action.”⁷ Thus, the drama was not only contained within the pages of the four-page, seven-column weekly of the 1870s, but it was also evident in the hands that struggled to produce and consume it.

According to Hudson, other facets of the national picture in McIntire’s time included the greater ratio in which “newspapers and periodicals increase[d] more rapidly than population.”⁸ He also suggested that citizens of the time were not content to read just one paper, such as “the *Tribune*, or the *World* or the *Ledger*, or the *Herald*, but purchase two, three, or four different daily papers at a time; neither [did] they confine themselves to one weekly paper.”⁹ McIntire himself was an avid consumer of multiple newspapers, reading regularly in addition to his exchanges with local and statewide papers the *Indianapolis Journal*, *Louisville Courier-Journal*, *Harper’s Weekly*, and *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*.

The 1870s saw a doubling of the number of newspapers in the United States, while at the same time, in some areas, subscription prices declined significantly, in part due to a 50-percent decline in the price of newsprint, as well as an increase of 5 million in the number of “gainful workers” in the United States.¹⁰ Closer to home, the newspaper picture in Indiana reflected the national numbers reported by Hudson. In his history he also published state-by-state figures, noting that in 1870 there were 22 dailies and 234 weeklies in Indiana.¹¹ The 1870 U.S. Census placed the population of Lawrence County, Indiana, at 14,628 and McIntire’s hometown of Mitchell at 1,087.¹² About that time there were four weekly publications in Lawrence County: three in the county seat of Bedford

(the *Banner*, *Leader*, and *Independent*, each with circulations of more than 500), ten miles to the north of Mitchell, and one in Mitchell proper (the *Commercial*, also with a circulation of more than 500). Their annual subscription rates ranged from \$1.50 to \$2, which were about one half of one percent of the yearly worker's salary of \$378.¹³

If circulation patterns at the state level mirrored those throughout the country, it then follows that weekly newspapers such as McIntire's easily outdistanced daily papers in their total readership and, potentially, their influence in the lives of ordinary Americans.¹⁴ This assertion is in direct contrast to four well-known historians who wrote about the period: the already-mentioned Frederic Hudson from the 19th century and more contemporary scholars Edwin Emery, Michael Schudson, and David Paul Nord, each of whom identified major eras in journalism in the 19th century. Hudson used the following chapters to cover the press history of the 1800s: "The Political Party Press, 1783–1832"; "Journalism in a Transition State, 1832–1835"; and "The Independent Press, 1835–1872"; with 1872 coinciding with the year of publication of his tome.¹⁵ Emery presented a chronological retelling of 19th-century journalism with chapters entitled "The Press and the Expanding Nation"; "Coonskin Democracy"; "A Press for the Masses"; "The Race for News," which traced the influence of the telegraph and new press technologies"; "The Press and the Rise of Sectionalism"; "The Irrepressible Conflict," highlighting the press's influence during the Civil War; and "The Maturing of the Older Press."¹⁶

Schudson, in his *Discovering the News*, touched only lightly on the pre-1830s politics-based journalism in his social history and devoted dozens of pages to the Penny Press, suggesting that the Penny Press "was the world in which modern journalism took root. There were rural papers, hundreds of them, but the papers which set the standard for journalism then and passed on their legacy to the present were urban."¹⁷ Schudson then

turned his attention to the late 19th century when many of the journalistic standards we see today began to be established by the likes of Joseph Pulitzer and Adolph Ochs of the *New York World* and *Times*, respectively.

In Nord's approach to American newspaper history, elaborated in *Communities of Journalism*, which included the perspective of readers themselves, he acknowledged the religious and political roots of journalism in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, mentioned the Penny Press, explored the influence of the abolitionist press, William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* in particular, then traced what he called the "urbanization of journalism," using the major newspapers in Chicago in the 1870s as his example.¹⁸

Two commonalities shared by these four histories are worthy of note: first, while each one made a significant contribution to the history of American journalism, none of them devoted more than passing mentions to the influence of local newspapers, even though Hudson's statistics acknowledged that circulation of local, weekly papers was five times that of dailies in 1870. Moreover, Schudson mentioned the "hundreds" of rural papers that existed during the mid-19th century, but he gave them scant attention overall. In Emery's history, all but one of the 20 illustrations and photographs from the aforementioned chapters depicted a publication, editor, or publisher from a *major-city* newspaper.¹⁹

Second, Hudson and Nord, by the lack of attention they gave to the political-party press in the mid-19th century, implied that its demise occurred sometime in the 1830s or soon thereafter. Initially, Schudson appeared to be in that same camp in his 1978 book, *Discovering the News*, when he stated, "In the 1840s and 1850s . . . political independence of newspapers, for instance, became a common feature of journalism."²⁰ However, in 1997 he amended his original claim and contended that "it is vital to

remember how deeply partisan and how closely affiliated with party most newspapers remained until the end of the 19th century.”²¹ Schudson acknowledged his change of heart, explaining, “I wrote of a general trend [in *Discovering the News*] toward political independence from the mid-19th century on, and I greatly overstated its importance.”²² Emery was the only one of the four who was less definitive about the end of the party press, claiming that the transition from partisanship to objectivity was a long process that merely *began* in the 1830s.²³

Other scholars, such as Jeffrey Rutenbeck and Barbara Cloud, side more with Emery and Schudson’s 1997 characterization of the influence of the partisan press. Wrote Rutenbeck: “While the importance of the cheap New York press cannot be denied, there has been a tendency to overlook the fact that partisan papers *dominated* journalism for the first *two-thirds* of the century.”²⁴ In her history of Western papers, Cloud also noted a “general bias” in histories of journalism toward the metropolitan newspapers of the East, and Hazel Dicken-Garcia maintained that partisanism still held sway well into the 1870s.²⁵

While the historians noted herein might disagree on the timing and ubiquity of the transition from partisan to independent journals, McIntire’s *Commercial* is one example of the *persistence* of the party press late into the 19th century. His paper reflected unashamedly his “warm” attachment to the Republican Party, not only in the masthead but also in the content of its pages.²⁶ His was among a number—shrinking or not—of weeklies nationwide when “political affiliation—the hallmark of American journalism up to the Civil War—began receding into the background as politically independent and nonaffiliated newspapers came to outnumber their partisan forbears for the first time,” and “all of them discuss[ed] political questions more or less, though in many cases from

the standpoint of a neutral or independent journal.”²⁷ Hudson also bolstered the belief that partisan papers were a dying breed, naming three nationally prominent “old party” editors who were “still at work” in 1872: Charles Gordon Greene, with the *Boston Post*; James Brooks, of the *New York Express*; and William Cullen Bryant, editor of the *New York Evening Post*.²⁸

The journalistic world that Dr. Elihu S. McIntire entered in 1872 was a world in flux. Most historians seem to agree that the partisan press was either moribund or in significant decline. Thus, McIntire appears to be more the exception than the rule as he began to publish his Republican-leaning *Commercial*. The Civil War had created readers who craved news, and weekly papers had five times the circulation of daily papers in the U.S. That trend continued into the 1880s with 11,314 “periodical publications of all kinds” in the United States, and of these, 971 were daily newspapers and 8,633 were weekly publications, showing the rapid growth of the newspaper industry and its growing importance in the United States.²⁹ Feeding that need for news was an appetite for information from multiple sources, with many citizens reading more than one paper, which would account for competition and multiple offerings, even in small towns like Mitchell, Indiana.

The weekly paper, by sheer numbers, represented and reached the majority of the nation’s citizens. A few words from editor William Allen White captured the significance of weeklies for the residents of small towns of Middle America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries:

The newspaper is more than the voice of the country-town spirit; the newspaper is in a measure the will of the town, and the town’s character is displayed with sad realism in the town’s newspapers. A newspaper is as honest as its town, is as intelligent as its town, as kind as its town, as brave as its town.

It is therefore the country newspaper, the one that speaks for the town, that guides and cherishes the town, that embodies the distinctive spirit of the town, wherein one town differeth from another in glory—it is that country newspaper, which takes its color from a town and gives color back . . . It is this country newspaper that reveals us to ourselves.³⁰

This dissertation will show that the *Commercial* ably and amply fulfilled that role for the citizens of Lawrence County, and the publisher and editor thereof was himself a thread in the fabric of that community. McIntire and other publishers like him led extraordinary lives. Such an existence merits closer attention.

Lives of Small-Town Newspaper Editors

Due to the mountains of historical evidence left by the “great-men” publishers, it is understandable that historians wrote volumes and volumes about the Bennetts, Garrisons, Greeleys, and Hearsts of the day, but Cloud argued that “Americans did not read the city papers that figure so prominently in our histories; they read the small-town press.”³¹ One way to give those local, less-prominent publications equal time is to tell the stories of local, less-prominent editors or publishers who made the news available to the majority of American citizens of the period and to tell them in the way that Carey suggested—not by focusing on the “large, impersonal faces buffeting the press: industrialization, urbanization and mass democracy”—but rather through stories of everyday people who “make love and war, have children and die, are educated and work, constrained by the physical limits of biology, nature, and technology.”³² This cultural approach was Carey’s solution to the challenge of telling such a story.

When McIntire was praised with the words, “No man in the county is more popular,” much of that notoriety and influence came because of his work as proprietor and editor of the *Mitchell Commercial*. Sally Foreman Griffith observed that “the small-

town newspaperman was a public personage in 19th-century America. He played a major role in his community, and he performed it in a public setting, very much as an actor performs a role onstage.”³³ In some cases, the focus of the historian—or the playwright, to continue the analogy—is on a specific character, as Griffith did in her biography of White. Other historians give attention to the character type, such as the small-town or frontier editor, and describe the life that is unique to them as a group rather than as individuals.

For example, George Hage and William Lyon in their studies of early Minnesota and Missouri papers, respectively, got to the heart of what Carey called for: the standpoint and struggle of individual pioneer editors.³⁴ They highlighted two newspapermen who were representative of their counterparts in the Midwest: James Goodhue, a lawyer by profession, who entered the newspaper business during the early settlement of Minnesota, while Joseph Charless was a frontier publisher in Missouri. Both made indelible marks on the newspaper profession in their areas, and they personified much of what McIntire experienced in his own newspaper venture. Scholars Barbara Cloud and Alfred Lorenz gave less attention to personalities in their research, but they also captured convincingly what it took to be an editor in a recently settled settlement.³⁵

Lyon identified four agents that fostered the development of the pioneer journal: the government, politicians, a literate citizenry, and printer-editors. In the founding of a new town, three groups were instrumental in its establishment: the pioneer, the land speculator, and the businessman opportunist. Lyon contended that the newspaperman came in with this third group.³⁶ Cloud added that newspapers carried with them “a symbolic value. They gave a town an aura of stability and an identity. A town with a

newspaper was a real town.”³⁷ This was the case in Mitchell, Indiana, incorporated in 1864, with its first newspaper, the *Mitchell Republican*, being established a year later.³⁸

In the Midwest and West, publishers came from a variety of backgrounds. All had an “affinity” for the written word, and many professional politicians sought editors more for their political astuteness than for journalistic training, which did not become a common requirement for the hiring of reporters until the 1880s.³⁹ For example, Missouri editor James Goodhue left the practice of law for newspaper work, Alf Doten scaled back his prospecting in the Nevada silver boom in 1863 to write for and later edit and own a series of newspapers in Nevada, and instead of resuming his full-time medical practice, McIntire began editing the *Mitchell Commercial* in 1872 after concluding a stint as a traveling insurance salesman.⁴⁰

Small-town papers in the Midwest and elsewhere did the best they could in terms of both production and content. Many romanticized accounts of journalism history failed to mention the litany of difficulties that publishers encountered, and meeting press deadlines was a challenge nearly every week. Editors did much of their own work, setting type, getting subscribers, securing paper supplies, taking goods and services in exchange for ad space, and trying desperately to stay out of debt.⁴¹

Journeyman printers, whom McIntire referred to as “tramps,” were a “set of free and easy fellows,” and often given to partake of the “flowing bowl,” making it difficult for country editors to count on their services for more than a few days at a time because of their tendency to imbibe, or wander, or both. McIntire dealt with a “drunken printer” himself, mentioning a rascal named Hicks six times in the first two months of his 1878 diary. He finally sacked him for good and put his 17-year-old daughter Mary to work in the printing office, “intend[ing] to have her learn the trade.”⁴²

Lyon summed up perfectly the lot of the frontier editor as he worked to publish his paper:

One could find the simple printer—struggling to get free of a creditor, clipping from other journals, composing at the case, assisting at the press, pleading with subscribers, ruining his health—and continuing to represent the simplest form of business organization until after the Civil War.⁴³

Lorenz was even more laconic in his assessment: “Hardly a day went by when the printer-editors were not . . . out of sorts and out of cash.”⁴⁴ Both descriptions certainly capture the “existential conditions” that Hardt urged historians to elaborate.

Yet the process for printing the paper was but half the battle. Determining what to put into the publication was another matter entirely. Cloud argued that partisan papers were not the first to be established in a new area in Washington state because the editor could not afford to antagonize potential readers, but Carolyn Stewart Dyer claimed the opposite by asserting that “party politics and political patronage were the primary currencies of exchange that made the newspaper possible in new Wisconsin communities of a few hundred or a thousand.”⁴⁵ In fact, Dyer further observed that about 90 percent of papers in Wisconsin were partisan before the Civil War.⁴⁶ These two regional examples suggest that local dynamics, rather than national patterns, might have had the greatest influence on the success of a paper during that period.

Whether small-town papers in the post-Civil War era were openly Democrat, Republican, or neither, their pages were filled with political news and commentary. Some needed that party affiliation to survive. The demise of Whig papers mirrored their national party’s decline in 1860, and Republican-paper success paralleled the GOP’s victories at the ballot box in the two decades that followed the war.⁴⁷ Cloud contended that “politics and press went together like birds and feathers; railroads, temperance, and

woman suffrage were key themes.”⁴⁸ McIntire did the same for his readers, not only extolling the virtues of the Republican Party, but also championing the rights of women to vote, pushing for improved and expanded railways and schools, and calling for equal treatment of the local Black community.⁴⁹ McIntire also included a great deal of agricultural and farming news and tips in his paper, a common practice in the newspapers of the time.⁵⁰

In the 1870s and 1880s in Minnesota, editorial material accounted for about one-fifth of the content in newspapers.⁵¹ The editor saw himself as a sentinel for the protection of public rights, and pioneer editors, freely mixing news and opinion, traded barbs often with their counterparts, feeling it their moral duty to expose the grammatical, political, and factual errors published by their rivals.⁵² McIntire himself was also no stranger to verbally sparring with his peers; however, he was spared the physical abuse, described by both Hage and Lyon, that was commonly inflicted upon newspapermen by their detractors in Minnesota and Missouri.⁵³ Hage, for example, recounted an 1851 incident where outside the state capitol building in St. Paul, editor Goodhue was accosted by an angry, pistol-toting, rock-throwing, knife-brandishing reader who succeeded in stabbing Goodhue in the back and stomach. After a two-week recovery, Goodhue resumed his place at his paper and “returned to the partisan wars more than ever committed to [his previously held editorial position].”⁵⁴

Rival weekly papers often looked very much alike in Midwestern communities: four-page publications with six or seven columns, a \$2 annual subscription fee, filled with ads for quack or patent medicines, and relatively rapid editorship turnovers. Hage noted one exception, John P. Owens, who served as editor for eight years with three

papers.⁵⁵ That makes McIntire's stint of 11 years with his *one* Indiana paper all the more remarkable.

With few or no correspondents, editors often relied on letters and maps from traveling friends and subscribers and boilerplate material to fill their pages with content. Editors also functioned as the local travel bureau, boosting the region and answering questions from inquirers considering a move to the area, as well as acknowledging out-of-towners who were visiting locally.⁵⁶

Lyon described the lengths that printer-editors went to in order to shore up flagging subscriptions. They took on all kinds of printing jobs, received payment in kind for printing services, and even blacklisted those who refused to pay for their paper.⁵⁷ McIntire also resorted to many of these tactics during his 11-year stint, lamenting and lampooning delinquent subscribers and often bemoaning publicly the hard life that was the lot of the editor, citing death, illness, lack of money, and other setbacks that delayed printing of the paper.⁵⁸

Summarizing this section of the literature review, the lives of country editors were indeed challenging. In many cases they did the labor themselves and brought in family members to help with the workload. This is not to say that the more well-known, big-city editors of the time had it easy; rather, their small-town counterparts, ironically, had more readers in the aggregate, but they garnered much less attention for the difficulties they faced. What now follows are examples of how their individual stories have been or should be told.

Examples of Cultural Biographies

Carey, in his 1974 manifesto that seems to have turned the journalism-history world on its head, indicated that we had enough “biographies of publishers and editors,” which I take to mean those of national or worldwide prominence. In contrast, what was missing, he felt, was the capturing of the *cultural* history of journalism in the U.S. He then proceeded to define what he meant by culture. Instead of chronicling the linear unfolding of journalism history, he called for stopping frequently along the way, delving into the stance of historical actors, teasing out the states of mind of those who made history, and getting to the heart of what history is: what people thought, felt, and experienced in a very personal way. Above all, he emphasized that journalism was a cultural act, which elaborated the symbolic action of history makers, great and small.⁵⁹

In lieu of filling this section with examples of where past biographers might have *missed* Carey’s mark in their book-length treatments of the great figures of the day, the present project is better served by citing briefly some examples of cultural biographies that perhaps *capture* Carey’s intent. In considering what such a retelling of the life of physician and editor Elihu S. McIntire might look like, I selected five works that either personify the appropriate *approach* to the crafting of a cultural biography or the type of *content* that would likely be found in the story of the life of a newspaper editor. Such records, to be faithful to Carey’s admonition, should offer access to the emotions, mind-set, and circumstances that help explain why these figures lived the way they did. The examples cited here include the following: *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, by Richard Lyman Bushman; *A Midwife’s Tale*, by Laurel Thatcher Ullrich; *Samuel Johnson*, by W. Jackson Bate; *Home Town News: William Allen White and the Emporia Gazette*, by Sally Foreman Griffith; and *A Force for Change: Beatrice Morrow Cannady*

and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Oregon, 1912–1936, by Kimberley Mangun. It should be noted that only one of these five works *claimed* to be a cultural biography; however, they each *demonstrated* elements of what would be found in a biography that had cultural retelling as its goal or at the very least personified in some way the characteristics of a cultural biography.

Beginning with *Rough Stone Rolling*, the first clue that Bushman would take a cultural turn in his biographical treatment of Mormon leader Joseph Smith's life appears boldly in the book-cover subtitle: "A *cultural* biography of Mormonism's founder."⁶⁰ Even the main title, "Rough Stone Rolling," suggests that the focus of the 742-page tome by Bushman, a "practicing Mormon" himself, would not be limited merely to the "pious commemoration and profitable promotion" that Nevins warned against.⁶¹ The author identified the sources of the name of the book by listing two quotes from Joseph Smith and another from close-associate Brigham Young, respectively, in the beginning pages of the book: "[I am like] a rough stone roling down hill [*sic*]," "I [am] a rough stone," and "He never professed to be a dressed smooth polished stone but was rough out of the mountain."⁶² Bushman's including the misspellings and lack of punctuation in the quotes may have been subtle indicators of his intention to portray Smith in as unfiltered a manner as possible.

Having acknowledged his standpoint as both biographer and believer, Bushman made very clear his approach in his retelling of his subject's life:

What I can do is look frankly at all sides of Joseph Smith, facing up to his mistakes and flaws. Covering up errors makes no sense in any case. Most readers do not believe in, nor are they interested in, perfection. Flawless characters are neither attractive nor useful. We want to meet a real person.⁶³

Bushman appears to have made good on this objective in his table of contents with chapter-title offerings such as “Strife,” “Reverses,” “Trials,” “War,” “Imprisonment,” “Perils,” “Thickets,” and “Confrontations,” as counterweights to more benign sections labeled “Cities of Zion,” “Exaltation,” “Stories of Eternity,” and “Beautiful Place.”⁶⁴ It is expected that Bushman would cite Smith’s and his followers’ own writings as sources—which he did—but he also appealed often to his subject’s detractors, both coeval and modern, such as Eber Howe, Philastus Hurlbut, and Fawn Brodie, for example.⁶⁵ Thus, offering multiple perspectives of a character and drawing upon the accounts of adversaries as well as friends allows the “real person” to come off the pages of the book, which is one of the primary purposes of a cultural biography.

In *A Midwife’s Tale*, Ulrich used the oils and palette that Martha Ballard herself provided in the form of nearly three decades’ worth of personal diaries to paint the picture of a woman dedicated to preserving the health of women and children in Hallowell, Maine, in the late 1700s and early 1800s. Metaphorically, the besmoked Ulrich applied the brushstrokes, seeming to place them carefully as if Martha—how Ulrich always referred to her, inviting the reader to consider her an intimate—were looking over Ulrich’s shoulder as she worked, guiding the author-artist’s hand to frame a no-nonsense caregiver’s life and show how it was interwoven into the entire community.

Ulrich observed that in Ballard’s understated, Yankee style, Martha “was not an introspective diarist, yet in this conscientious recording as much as in her occasional confessions, she revealed herself,” not in her day-by-day jottings but in the ritual of recording 9,965 journal entries over 27 years.⁶⁶ Ulrich further reflected on a truism in historiography in general and in cultural biography in particular: “To understand Martha’s world we must approach it on its own terms, neither as a golden age of

household productivity nor as a political void from which a later feminist consciousness emerged.”⁶⁷ Whether the diarist intended it or not, Martha’s personal record indeed tapped into the “marrow” of life in the 18th century.⁶⁸

A Midwife’s Tale also demonstrated the power of the diary to reveal the extraordinary in the ordinary in a way that fills the gap Carey identified:

The most difficult thing to get hold of, in studying any past period, is this felt sense of the quality of life at a particular time and place: a sense of the ways in which the particular activities combined into a way of thinking and living.⁶⁹

For example, in Martha’s time and place it was customary for the “attending women” to take part in a postdelivery celebration hosted by the mistress of the house. Some ladies provided an “elligant [*sic*] dinner [while] others sent their midwife home searching her clothes for fleas,” thus conjuring vivid images of women dining in Main Street saltboxes or huddling in backwoods lean-tos along the Kennebec River, where Martha lived.⁷⁰

The extant personal writings of historical figures like Martha give the diarist a say in how their story is eventually told. Based on the record by Martha’s own hand, Ulrich showed us “a sharp-eyed and practical woman who kept faith in ultimate justice despite repeated encounters with suicide, murder, and war.”⁷¹ But only one surviving public record, a list of witnesses at a rape trial, listed Martha by name. Ulrich both delighted in and lamented what Martha’s diary has afforded: “To celebrate such a life is to acknowledge the power—and the poverty—of written records. Outside her own diary, Martha has no history.”⁷² Despite that dearth of documents, however, the history of Martha Ballard that *has* survived to this day comes to us completely on *her* terms.

Bate, in his biography of Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), demonstrated that he understood the purpose of a cultural biography. He noted that his subject, Johnson himself, preferred biography to any other type of writing because

it gives us, [Johnson] said, “what comes near to us, what we can turn to use.” He believed that hardly a single life had passed from which we could not learn something, if only it were told with complete honesty.⁷³

Bate explained further that his subject’s personal affinity for biography stemmed from Johnson’s particular concern “to find out how those whom we consider great . . . ever managed to become what they were—what they had to struggle against in themselves,” thus giving greater cachet to the battle than the victory, which in essence illustrates Carey’s argument for giving preeminence to ritual over transmission.⁷⁴

As expected, Bate did show the many faces of the Johnson that the English-speaking world reveres as a poet, editor, lexicographer, moralist, biographer, and cultural critic. However, Bate presented these accomplishments more as waypoints along a more complex, multilayered journey in order to show what Johnson had to “struggle against” in himself to become the personality that “fascinated more people than any other writer except Shakespeare.”⁷⁵

Johnson’s struggles included the following: being wet-nursed by a carrier of tuberculosis, which left Johnson nearly blind in one eye and deaf in one ear; a five-year mental breakdown in his early 20s after withdrawing from Oxford; marrying a widow against the wishes of both families, who was 20 years his senior, and whose delicate nature and addictions to alcohol and opiates brought added burdens to Johnson’s then-meager ability to provide; the death of his wife when he was but 42; another bout of depression and near insanity in his 50s and being taken in by a generous benefactor; a crisis of religious faith in attempting to reconcile the presence of evil with a benevolent God, as well as the tension between private devotion and public worship; the death of his longtime benefactor, Henry Thrale, and the return to living on his own; and the numerous health problems he experienced in the last years of this life.⁷⁶

In light of these struggles, Johnson's literary contributions become even more impressive because the reader comes to appreciate the trying conditions under which they were produced.⁷⁷ Other biographies of Johnson are also extant, including the most famous of all, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, a two-volume work published in 1791 by contemporary James Boswell. Modern critics, however, argue that his treatment essentially ignored Johnson's early and young life, was generally based more on myth than on fact, and failed to broach many of the intimate details of Johnson's life that would have made him seem more real to the reader.⁷⁸ These are further examples of how textual silences on the part of the biographer have the potential to push to the background important parts of the life story of the subject and leave important experiences untold. On the other hand, by offering a *cultural* perspective of Johnson's life in a single volume, Bate was able to get closer to his subject's heart because he was willing to discuss aspects of Johnson's life that the more-famous Boswell ignored or seemed unwilling to touch.

In Sally Foreman Griffith's *Home Town News*, the first indication that it is a solid example of a cultural biography emerges in her explanation of the book's purpose: "to understand the role of journalism in American culture by examining its actual practice in a single community at a specific historical moment."⁷⁹ With that simple statement she makes clear her intention to offer the reader both content and context in telling the life story of William Allen White.

As for content, Griffith offered a significant amount of detail about White's rise to local and national prominence, structuring her story "largely as a narrative in order to focus attention upon human experience."⁸⁰ That experience for White included "ten years working for newspapers in every possible capacity, from printer's devil to political columnist" before the 27-year-old White became the proprietor of the *Emporia (KN)*

Daily Gazette, purchasing it for \$3,000, “primarily owing to his reputation and contacts.”⁸¹ Over the course of the nearly 50 years that White was associated with the *Gazette*, Griffith chronicled key events that were unique to White’s experience such as his bout with severe depression in the early 1900s, updates to his printing operations in keeping with advances in technology, his evolution from Republicanism to Progressivism, his spearheading of a massive street fair in Emporia to promote the town, and the untimely death of his 17-year-old daughter Mary.⁸² In her narrative, however, Griffith made few distinctions between White’s personal and professional life. She observed, “It is misleading to make sharp distinctions between the public and the private man.”⁸³

Griffith also placed these and many more events into local, regional, and national contexts. For example, just a year into his tenure at the helm of the *Gazette*, White, a Republican, made a national splash with his editorial, “What’s the Matter with Kansas?” He wrote the piece in response to pointed criticism he was getting from Democratic-leaning, Populist Emporians, who complained of “the treatment of their party in the *Gazette*” in the run-up to the 1896 presidential election. White’s manifesto struck a chord with the GOP, his article was reprinted coast to coast, and the party even distributed it in pamphlet form. The editorial made White an American hero in Republican circles, and his biographers agreed “that ‘What’s the Matter with Kansas?’ made his career.”⁸⁴ While the editorial established White nationally as an authority on small-town issues, it “damaged his efforts to present himself as ‘genial and fair-minded’ in his own city.”⁸⁵ And much of Griffith’s book highlighted that ever-present tension as White attempted to keep one foot in both the local and national worlds.

In sum, through content, context, and “the texture of life as White and his fellow Emporians lived it,” Griffith created an excellent example of a cultural biography by using White’s “career as a window, or perhaps [more accurately] a prism, to observe the communication process as a complex interaction among communicator, audience, and medium, involving many different facets, including the psychological, social, cultural, economic, technological, and political.”⁸⁶

In *A Force for Change*, Kimberley Mangun told the story of Beatrice Morrow Cannady, an African American civil-rights pioneer and activist in Oregon in the early 20th century. In the book’s introduction, Mangun acknowledged that Cannady “left few personal documents like journals or diaries that might offer insight into [her] struggles and achievements.”⁸⁷ This fact immediately sets apart *A Force for Change* from the four aforementioned biographies because each of these cited either the personal journal or the autobiography of the subject as sources. However, diaries are not the only way to access a subject’s standpoint. Mangun claimed that a “scarcity of primary documents” does not prevent the study of the life of a woman like Cannady; “rather, scholars need to be more creative with their research,” suggesting that tracking down leads, poring over microforms, corresponding with other historians and experts, and even “following hunches” are also effective ways to uncover the story.⁸⁸

This Mangun did, producing a compelling 200-page narrative and another 100 pages of notes and bibliography, using “first and foremost” 500 issues of the *Advocate*, the newspaper that her subject published for 25 years, as “the story of Beatrice Morrow Cannady herself and her ongoing campaign to better race relations in Oregon.”⁸⁹ The author also used many other sources beyond the *Advocate*, including Cannady’s scrapbook, documents from the local and national NAACP organization, records from the

City of Portland, and oral histories to “bring to life a tumultuous period in the state and nation,” touching on topics such as “migration, employment patterns, social and religious life, entertainment, Jim Crow restrictions, and Black-owned businesses”—all of which flesh out the “organization of social experience” that Carey called for in documenting cultural history.⁹⁰

Another primary source Mangun used frequently was the Black press, going well beyond the *Advocate* itself to situate Cannady in her time and place.⁹¹ Carey singled out the Black press as “the [very] arena where Black consciousness is created and controlled by canons of Black journalism.”⁹² To help the non-Black reader appreciate the “Black consciousness” of the time, Mangun cited a number of incidents of discrimination that Cannady or her children experienced personally, as well as several efforts Cannady made to improve race relations in Portland.⁹³ Thus, both the process of gathering sources to write *A Force for Change* and the contents of its pages offer the novice or experienced historian a fitting example of how to produce a cultural biography, even if the work does not bill itself as such.

Conclusion

This literature review helps establish McIntire’s time and place as a journalist, outlines the never-a-dull-moment and harried lifestyle of the country editor, and offers some good, concrete examples of the crafting and content of a cultural biography. By showing honest and contrasting dimensions of my subject, approaching him on his own terms, capturing the struggles that formed his character, situating him in his historical moment without artificially separating the public and private man, and using available resources to recreate the consciousness of being a historical figure as Bushman, Ulrich,

Bate, Griffith, and Mangun did, respectively, I can craft a moving narrative that simultaneously adds to the body of historical knowledge.

Notes from Chapter 2

¹ *The New York Times*, January 4, 1873.

² Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States, 1690 to 1872* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873), 772.

³ *Ibid.*, 772.

⁴ U.S. Department of Commerce, *Illiteracy in the United States: November 1969* (Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, 1970).

⁵ Simon N. D. North, ed., *History and Present Condition of the Newspaper and Periodical Press of the United States, with a Catalogue of the Publications of the Census Year* (Washington, DC: U.S. Census Office, 1881), 234.

⁶ Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 50.

⁷ Carey, "A Cultural Approach," 14–23.

⁸ Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, 772.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 772–773.

¹⁰ Jeffrey B. Rutenbeck, "Newspaper Trends in the 1870s: Proliferation, Popularization, and Political Independence," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 72, no. 2 (June 1995): 370; See also *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, DC: U. S. Department of Commerce, 1960), 74.

¹¹ Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, 771.

¹² United States Census, Lawrence County, Indiana, 1870.

¹³ *Geo. P. Rowell & Co's American Newspaper Directory* (New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1873), 71, 338; *Wages and Earnings in the United States, 1860–1890*, ed. Clarence D. Long (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960), 41. According to online inflation calculator www.westegg.com, the amounts of \$1.50 and \$2 in 1870 compare to \$27.67 and \$36.90, respectively, in 2015 U.S. dollars. Accessed October 9, 2015. <http://www.westegg.com/inflation>.

¹⁴ Barbara Cloud, *The Business of Newspapers on the Western Frontier* (Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press, 1992), xiii. Cloud argued that as of the late twentieth century "weekly newspaper circulation growth [still] outstrips that of daily newspapers."

¹⁵ Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, iii–xiii.

¹⁶ Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of Journalism* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1962): 165–336.

¹⁷ Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978): 60.

¹⁸ David Paul Nord, *Communities of Journalism: A History of American Newspapers and their Readers* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 108–132.

¹⁹ Emery, *The Press and America*, 183. The lone exception was a reprint of the September 17, 1824, edition of the *Argus of Western America*, a frontier newspaper published in Frankfort, Kentucky.

²⁰ Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 65.

²¹ Michael Schudson, "Toward a Troubleshooting Manual for Journalism History," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 468.

²² Schudson, "Troubleshooting Manual," 469.

²³ Emery, *Press and America*, 221. Emery characterized the transition as follows: “It would be ridiculous to maintain that the penny press avoided partisanship. Papers like the New York *Herald* took up issues every day, and often fought for them as violently as in the old partisan-press days. But that was not the purpose of these papers, as it had been when papers reflected factions and parties. The *newspaper* was a little more impersonal than the *viewspaper*, but the development of objectivity had barely started, and the goal had not been reached more than a hundred years later. All such progress must be measured relatively” (italics added).

²⁴ Rutenbeck, “Newspaper Trends,” 361, italics added.

²⁵ Cloud, *Business of Newspapers*, xii; Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards*, 176.

²⁶ For examples, see *Mitchel Commercial*, March 17, 1881, 2; September 8, 1881, 2; September 29, 1881, 2.

²⁷ Rutenbeck, “Newspaper Trends,” 361; North, *History and Present Condition*, 58.

²⁸ Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, 778–779.

²⁹ North, *History and Present Condition*, 58.

³⁰ William Allen White, “The Country Newspaper,” *Harper’s Magazine* 132, no. 792 (May 1916): 888, 891.

³¹ Cloud, *Business of Newspapers*, xii.

³² Carey, “Journalism History,” 4.

³³ Griffith, *Home Town News*, 3.

³⁴ George S. Hage, *Newspapers on the Minnesota Frontier 1849–1860* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society, 1967); William H. Lyon, *The Pioneer Editor in Missouri 1808–1860* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1965).

³⁵ Cloud, *Business of Newspapers*; Alfred L. Lorenz, “Out of Sorts and Out of Cash: Problems of Publishing in Wisconsin Territory,” *Journalism History* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1976): 34–39, 63.

³⁶ Lyon, *Pioneer Editor*, 7.

³⁷ Cloud, *Business of Newspapers*, 5; Griffith, *Home Town News*, 14.

³⁸ *History of Lawrence*, 157.

³⁹ James W. Edwards, *History of Mitchell and Marion Township* (Mitchell, IN: Mitchell Tribune, 1916), 100, 128; Lyon, *Pioneer Editor*, 121; Cloud, *Business of Newspapers*, 18; Cloud, *Business of Newspapers*, 18; Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards*, 38; Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 68–69.

⁴⁰ Hage, *Minnesota Frontier*, 2; ESM, November 10, 1871; Walter Van Tilburg Clark, ed., *The Journals of Alfred Doten, 1849–1903* (Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press, 1975).

⁴¹ Lorenz, “Out of Sorts,” 34; See, for example, ESM, January 10, 1878: “Got this diary from Anderson for a notice.”; Cloud, *Business of Newspapers*, 18–19; 35, 59, 102, 135, 175; Lorenz, “Out of Sorts,” 36; Lyon, *Pioneer Editor*, 89. Many was the time that McIntire had to borrow a few dollars to “get his paper out” in any given week. See, for example, ESM, January 24, July 13, and August 2, 1878. See also Kimberley Mangun, *A Force for Change: Beatrice Morrow Cannady and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Oregon, 1912–1936* (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2010), 26–27, for an example of how little things had changed for editors of small, weekly newspapers nearly 50 years after McIntire began work at the *Commercial*.

- ⁴² ESM, June 1, 1878; November 8, 18–19, 1878; Lorenz, “Out of Sorts,” 38; Allan Pinkerton, *Strikers, Communists, Tramps and Detectives* (New York: G. W. Carleton & Co., 1878), 52–67; See ESM, January 10–11, 14, 17, 21, and February 18, 1878; *Mitchel Commercial*, April 28, 1881, 3.
- ⁴² Lorenz, “Out of Sorts,” 38; ESM, February 18, 1878.
- ⁴³ Lyon, *Pioneer Editor*, 98.
- ⁴⁴ Lorenz, “Out of Sorts,” 63.
- ⁴⁵ Barbara Cloud, “A Party Press? Not Just Yet! Political Publishing on the Frontier,” *Journalism History* 7, no. 2 (1980): 54; Carolyn Stewart Dyer, “Political Patronage of the Wisconsin Press, 1849–1860: New Perspectives on the Economics of Patronage,” *Journalism Monographs* 109 (February 1989): 1.
- ⁴⁶ Dyer, “Political Patronage,” 4.
- ⁴⁷ Cloud, “A Party Press?” 55, 72.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 54.
- ⁴⁹ For examples, see *Mitchel Commercial*, June 1 and October 5, 1882, 2; March 24, 1881, 3; and January 19, 1882, 2.
- ⁵⁰ For examples, see *Mitchel Commercial*, June 1, 1876, 3; April 28, 1881, 3; June 1, 1882, 1; Lyon, *Pioneer Editor*, 45.
- ⁵¹ Irene B. Taeuber, “Weekly Newspapers in Pioneer Minnesota,” *Minnesota History* 14 (December 1933): 411.
- ⁵² Hage, *Minnesota Frontier*, 43–45; Lyon, *Pioneer Editor*, 115; Taeuber, “Weekly Newspapers,” 412.
- ⁵³ For examples, see *Mitchel Commercial*, February 3, 1881, 2; and November 17, 1881, 2; Hage, *Minnesota Frontier*, 16, 33; Lyon, *Pioneer Editor*, 73–84.
- ⁵⁴ Hage, *Minnesota Frontier*, 37–38.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 9, 12, 15–16, 19, 21;
- ⁵⁶ Lyon, *Pioneer Editor*, 38–39; Cloud, *Business of Newspapers*, 150; for examples, see *Mitchel Commercial*, November 24, 1881, 2; and March 23, 1882, 3. In reference to boilerplate or “ready-print” material, beginning in the 1860s it was common for country weeklies to supplement their own content with preset printing plates with items of interest that could easily be inserted into the columns of a newspaper. An Albert Lea, MN, newspaper in 1877 commented on the pluses and minuses of such content: “As to the ‘compendium of news’ in a patent inside or outside, to nine-tenths of the readers the space is thrown away, because the ‘news’ is unavoidably pretty venerable by the time the paper is issued. The miscellaneous matter in patent sheets is always good, and by their use an editor is saved much hard work and expense; but an editor is placed at some unpleasant disadvantages by the adoption of ‘ready-print,’ besides the system does not carry with it the true ring of enterprise and thrift that a purely home production does,” *Freeborn County Standard*, June 7, 1877, 2.
- ⁵⁷ Lyon, *Pioneer Editor*, 89, 92, 94, 106–107.
- ⁵⁸ For examples, see ESM, January 5–6, 24, 1878; March 28, 1878; July 13, 1878; October 23, 1878.
- ⁵⁹ Carey, “Journalism History,” 5.
- ⁶⁰ Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Knopf, 2005). The subtitle, “A cultural biography of Mormonism’s founder,” appears only on the cover of the book; it is not included on the title or copyright pages. *Italics added.*

⁶¹ Ibid., 742.

⁶² Ibid., vii.

⁶³ Ibid., xix.

⁶⁴ Ibid., ix–x.

⁶⁵ Bushman cited a number of sources considered friendly to Joseph Smith. Among these were Smith's own diaries and personal papers, the writings of Smith's mother, Lucy Mack Smith, his brother Hyrum Smith, Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, and William W. Phelps. Howe, a contemporary of Joseph Smith, was editor of the *Painesville Telegraph*, published *Mormonism Unveiled*, an exposé of Smith and his teachings, and bought and printed a number of affidavits collected by Hurlbut that impugned Smith's character. Hurlbut, once a believer but later expelled from the church, also found and popularized a manuscript written by Solomon Spaulding, a minister, that told the story of an ancient Roman people who arrived by ship in America and intermarried with native tribes that engaged in war with one another. Hurlbut claimed that the Book of Mormon was fabricated by Smith and based on Spaulding's story. Brodie, also a former Mormon, was a modern-day critic of Smith and the *Book of Mormon*. See Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 58, 85, 90–91, 145, 231–233. See also Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945).

⁶⁶ Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale*, 9.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 32–33.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Carey, "Journalism History," 4.

⁷⁰ Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale*, 188, citing Martha Ballard's diary entry for June 15, 1796.

⁷¹ Ibid., 343.

⁷² Ibid., 343.

⁷³ W. Jackson Bate, *Samuel Johnson* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), xix.

⁷⁴ Ibid., xix.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 3.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 7, 105–129, 143–153, 236–239, 261–271, 371–389, 547–568, 569–600.

⁷⁷ For example, the nine-year compilation of Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* coincided with the declining years and the death of his wife. It was also during the *Dictionary* period that he wrote *The Vanity of Human Wishes* and *The Rambler*, some of Johnson's best poetry and prose, respectively, according to Walter Scott, T. S. Eliot, and others. Johnson's *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, recognized then and now as a valuable edition of the Bard's works, was published during his depressive days of upper middle age. And his *Lives of the Poets*, which contained short biographies of 52 eminent English writers, appeared about the time of the death of benefactor Henry Thrale, as well as a surge of end-of-life health problems for Johnson.

⁷⁸ See, for example, James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Christopher Hibbert (New York: Penguin Classics, 1986), 7, 25; William Dowling, "Biographer, Hero, and Audience in Boswell's Life of Johnson," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 20, no. 3 (Summer, 1980): 475–491.

⁷⁹ Griffith, *Home Town News*, 5.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 8.

⁸¹ Ibid., 4, 30.

⁸² Ibid., 52–63, 67–91, 94–99, 92–112, 235–239.

⁸³ Ibid., 93.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 45–48.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 49.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 5, 8.

⁸⁷ Mangun, *A Force for Change*, 2.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 2, 3.

⁹⁰ Mangun, *A Force for Change*, 3; Carey, “Journalism History,” 4.

⁹¹ Mangun used, among others, the following Black newspapers as sources in *A Force for Change*: *Chicago Defender*, Washington (DC) *Bee*, *Pittsburgh Courier*, Portland (OR) *New Age*, Portland (OR) *Observer*, California (Los Angeles) *Eagle*, Seattle *Enterprise*, Columbia (SC) *Southern Indicator*, and the *Topeka (KS) Plaindealer*.

⁹² Carey, “Journalism History,” 5.

⁹³ For example, Cannady was asked to leave her own 1922 graduation from law school at the Portland Multnomah Hotel after singing two solos in the program (29); her 13-year-old son was asked to leave a skating rink where his school’s graduation party was held, and many white classmates left with him, making front-page news in the *Oregonian* (133); she and sons George, 15, and Ivan, 13, were discriminated against in 1928 when an usher at the Oriental Theatre tried to direct them to the balcony rather than the main floor, which was reserved for white patrons (19); she invited Black luminaries to Portland, whose visits were positively covered in the white press (75); she hosted interracial teas to educate whites about Negro culture and history, and a number of guests were from the professional and business class (94–95, 101–106); she fiercely opposed the 1915, 1918, 1922, 1923, and 1931 showings in Portland of *The Birth of a Nation*, a film that glamorized the activities of the Ku Klux Klan (126, 129, 132–133); she lobbied white newspapers to stop using dialect to convey Black speech and to stop using “negress,” “coons,” “shines,” and other insulting terms (158–160); and she weighed in on the controversy surrounding the radio show *Amos ‘n’ Andy* (183). Page numbers from *A Force for Change* indicated in parentheses.

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD AND THEORY

*No man can find out the work that God maketh from the beginning
to the end . . . For all is vanity.*

—*Ecclesiastes 3:19*

Methodology for This Study

Carey's "The Problem of Journalism History" carries within it two lists. The first is a series of thou-shalt-nots: cease to produce "dull and unimaginative" narratives, do not be "oppressively chronological," and avoid a "whig interpretation of journalism history," which weds the "doctrine of progress" to the "idea of history" by tracing perfunctorily from the rise of the political press in the early 1800s to the "muckraking and social responsibility" of a century later.¹ What forms the foundation of Carey's list of solutions to the journalism-history problem is his example of John William Ward's simple attempt to "reconstruct what Caesar *felt* in crossing the Rubicon: the particular constellation of attitudes, emotions, motives, and expectations that were experienced in that act," which act was considered treasonous in Caesar's era and a prelude to armed conflict with Rome. Carey added to that list of must-haves "how action made sense from the standpoint of

historical actors,” the “way in which men in the past have grasped reality,” and simply the “structure of feeling” of the past.²

As called for by Sloan and Stamm, this description of method is intentionally kept brief.³ The methodology for constructing a cultural biography of Dr. Elihu S. McIntire will mirror what Carey prescribed, as well as apply the strategies employed by the five examples cited herein. The specific historical-research method that will be employed in this dissertation uses McIntire’s diaries, newspaper, and other documents from the period to help meet the stated goal to first compile his story and later to consider the impact of framing, textual silences, and other influences on his personal and public writings.

The starting point was McIntire’s own writings: his 13 diaries, written intermittently between 1871 and 1899, as well as the 100-plus surviving issues of the *Mitchell Commercial*, nearly all of which are from the period of December 30, 1880, to December 28, 1882. The diaries were transcribed into a 400-page, searchable, word-processing document, and the newspapers were scanned and converted to PDF files. Other surviving books and personal papers, to include newspaper clippings, railroad passes, loan contracts, Masonic membership card, family Bible and medical-reference book, provided additional primary materials to document McIntire’s activities.

The diaries and newspaper issues offered the best opportunity to explore McIntire’s inner world, while biographical sketches, local accounts, military histories, items from contemporary newspapers, and census, tax, property, and pension records provided the broader context for the narrative that not only emerged from McIntire’s personal accounts but also filled the gaps that McIntire’s own record left unfilled. Analysis of McIntire’s diary and newspaper content was a key component of my methodology. I extended the scope of thematic analysis that I used for the preliminary

study of McIntire's diary during his newspaper years and applied that same analysis to the other diaries available to me to see what patterns emerged in the content, writing style, word choice, and textual silences.

Identification of patterns often lends itself to quantitative analysis, which was a part of my methodological approach; however, the analysis did not rely on sophisticated software or flashy formulas. Rather, I used it, as Sloan and Stamm suggested, "simply to count the number of various items that appear in the publication[s] and then group them according to similarities."⁴ These items included word counts and averages, number of mentions of a particular person or topic, and word clouds to graphically illustrate word frequencies.

The usefulness of framing and textual silences as analytical tools in the cultural biography will be illustrated through a few examples of textual silences in McIntire's record. One of these has been mentioned and the other will be addressed in a subsequent chapter: the previously noted example of McIntire's May 10, 1896, diary entry that described the death of his granddaughter Lorena, and the lack of attention McIntire gave in his diary to his wife as his caregiver.

There is no guarantee that pattern identification will establish any cause-effect relationship within McIntire's activities. However, with access to his diaries this dissertation can come closer to what his motives actually were and perhaps in some small way elaborate the thinking behind his behavior. And in keeping with the aforementioned argument for the value of mixed-method approaches, this methodology carries decidedly qualitative aspects as well.

This brief summary of method does not describe a journey that consists of a straight line. Rather, as the following general description of the historical method will

show, it involved a number of stops, turns, and lane changes that ultimately, and hopefully, shows McIntire “as [an] individual whenever [I] can,” as called for by Carl Bridenbaugh, and to perhaps “make large claims from small matters,” as Carey suggested.⁵

Historical Method

Scholars of communication history work with primary sources from the targeted time period such as newspapers, books, government records, legal documents, diaries, letters, artistic works, and other materials. Interaction with such sources includes establishing their authenticity, validity, and worthiness as supporting evidence. Because the work of historians is largely interpretive, the attempt to reconstruct individual and collective experience from the past requires a significant depth of understanding of time and place. Establishing an appropriate level of knowledge lends itself well to qualitative techniques because researchers “don’t collect all their data and then make sense of them [as one might do within a quantitative research design]; they make sense of data as they are acquired, and acquire more data after making sense of earlier data” in a continually recursive process.⁶

Historical research methods have been judged as requiring “more rigorous thinking than any other” and “the development of a critical mind that must be able to evaluate a wide range of material,” in large measure because quantitative techniques may simply not be applicable to the subject in question.⁷ For example, a limited number of records might remain from an event in history, and the researcher must make do with what is available, establishing the context of the documents, interpreting the state of mind of the authors, and uncovering the meaning of them through qualitative techniques.

With so many perspectives offered by scholars on the historical method and what it entails, I argue an effective course is to outline the methodology advanced by Sloan and Stamm as a basic framework and incorporate the perspectives of other historians at appropriate points in the discussion. This is not to suggest that Sloan and Stamm have cornered the methodological market in communication history; in fact, they themselves acknowledged “history has no single methodology.”⁸ Rather, they take a simple, commonsense approach to their craft, as noted in the preface of *Historical Methods in Communication*:

[This book] is based on the fundamentals of historical research. It eschews the vague “philosophical” and “theoretical” and “grand theory” recommendations that have at times been faddish with some communication historians. Likewise, while taking account of the quantitative methods drilled into graduate students in theoretical communication programs, it attempts to keep those methods in perspective as only one limited part of research necessary in history.⁹

That practical approach is followed throughout their book. I thus begin this section with some foundational principles related to historiography and then provide the step-by-step explanation of the method.

Recall Davidson and Lytle’s statement that “good history begins with a good story.”¹⁰ Compiling that good story involves much more than a creative imagination. Sloan understood this principle in stating that the historical method “is unsurpassed among scholarly disciplines in exercising the mind” because it requires an ample range of skills to include sound judgment, analysis, rigor, and the ability to think critically.¹¹

As noted previously, Sloan and Stamm considered the three components of historiography to be evidence, interpretation, and narrative.¹² Without evidence, or the “record,” as they termed it, there is no history. Most historians conceive of evidence as documents, but evidence can assume other forms. Once the evidence is established,

verified, and authenticated, it is the historian's job to interpret, or in other words, to describe and explain it, but only as far as the evidence will permit.¹³ The vehicle for the description and explanation is the narrative, which is "devoted to telling a story [by] recounting the flow of events over time."¹⁴ At this point it is important to clarify that these three building blocks of historiography—evidence, interpretation, and narrative—do not represent a linear process; instead they can and should be used cyclically. John Durham Peters wrote that "potential communication about an event is never complete. There is always something more to say; a record, by definition, is never finished."¹⁵ There is "more to say" in many cases because the lines of historiography are often circular—not straight—as new evidence comes to light, or new perspectives on history emerge, allowing for scholars to revisit and retell already-told stories and give new life to the characters of the past who, because their stories have been told, will never die.

Prior to engaging in the actual history project, researchers should consider the purpose of their study, how to accomplish it, any practical matters that must be dealt with during the course of the project, and what will make the study worthwhile.¹⁶ Background reading about the subject and the broader historical setting is also a must, and researchers determine the depth of that reading and the length of time they devote to it.¹⁷

With this fundamental understanding of the foundational principles of historiography just outlined, the researcher proceeds through the seven steps suggested by Sloan and Stamm: topic selection and definition, bibliographic soundness, research, accuracy, explanation, historical understanding, and writing. I will briefly discuss each of these steps individually and include what other historians have suggested for each one.¹⁸

When researchers are ready to select a topic, Sloan and Stamm identified three basic questions they should answer: 1) Do I have the skills to do the project, or can I

acquire them? 2) Are the sources available such that the project is workable? and 3) Is the topic important, or can I demonstrate its importance through the project?¹⁹ Once these questions are answered, then the researcher goes about defining the topic with clarity (who, what, where, and when) and establishing its significance in terms of how it fits in with other topics or previous research.

As Sloan and Stamm suggested, “A well-developed bibliography is essential to any serious historical work.”²⁰ Compiling a list of sources often requires the crossing of disciplinary lines, as Nevins observed: “The man who writes the history of a great newspaper for the same period has to take cognizance of a thousand subjects from the poetry corner to corners in wheat, [fixing] on the right principles of selection and synthesis.”²¹ Seasoned historians caution against relying on one source to examine a past event; instead, they suggest comparing multiple sources, “sifting information” and “listening to many voices.”²²

Most scholars agree that those many “voices” generally fall into two categories: primary and secondary sources. Sloan and Stamm defined primary sources as “the raw materials of history” and clarified that they are “records in close proximity to some past experience.” Secondary sources, they indicated, “rest on primary sources” but are “not contemporaneous with the subject under study.”²³ Allan Lichtman and Valerie French offered an even more detailed description, dividing nonprimary sources into *two* distinct categories, terming secondary sources as “other evidence pertaining to and produced soon after the event,” and tertiary records as historical accounts “written afterward to reconstruct the event.”²⁴ How to treat each of these types becomes the issue.

The discussion of primary and secondary sources straddles both bibliographic soundness and research in that if the historian appeals to a secondary source for evidence,

“it raises a red flag” and thus begs questions about the solidity of the research.²⁵ Because this dependence on secondary sources has been a long-standing criticism of communication historians, one professor recommended to his students that they “ask interpretive questions and then sift through the raw material” first because that is “what a professional historian does,” and another told students, “Let the original enlighten you before you apply the interpretation.”²⁶ There is more that could be said about research in this section, but much of that conversation is tied to accuracy, so the implication is the next section applies to both principles equally and will be elaborated in greater detail therein.

Scholars adopt multiple but related perspectives under the broad label of accuracy, which Sloan and Stamm called “the cornerstone of good historical writing.”²⁷ Frank Fee put it very simply: “Writ[e] what you know and can support; [don’t be] blindsided by what you don’t know or didn’t ask about . . . [and avoid] ‘what if’ historiography.”²⁸ Sloan and Stamm addressed accuracy in the form of external and internal criticism. External criticism involves establishing the authenticity of a document by attributing it to the proper author, placing it in the correct time period, and verifying that it matches the style, spelling, language, and punctuation of the author and the time period.²⁹ Internal criticism attempts to establish the author’s credibility and comprehend the content of the record. To establish credibility of a record the researcher must ask if the author was able and willing to tell the truth, as well as whether there is independent corroboration of the record. As for the content, the historian must evaluate the text and understand the terminology in the contexts of the time period.³⁰

Other scholars suggested other questions or tests to determine accuracy in historical research. Davidson and Lytle recommended reading the document to first

understand its surface content, evaluating how it is organized, and then summarizing its main points. Other helpful techniques include reconstructing the “intellectual worlds” behind the document’s words and determining if it is an original or a copy.³¹ Martha Howell and Walter Prevenier advocated knowing where, when, and by whom the source document was produced. They also called for understanding the traditions associated with the type of document under study, deciphering its meaning, establishing the authority of the author, as well as their competence and trustworthiness.³²

This step involves explaining the sources and facts by offering generalizations and interpretations.³³ As noted previously, qualitative techniques allow for interpretation of meaning and the complexity of situations, while quantification affords statistical understanding of patterns and trends that emerge from sources. Some historians avoid theory altogether, due to the controversy it raises in historiography, arguing it is “too complicated to be of much use” and that it “puts distance between the subject and people who want to learn more about it.”³⁴ Others embrace theory as “very much a desired aspect of journalism history, [but it] must be guarded and employed only when it can assist in explaining and revealing phenomena from our past.”³⁵

Sloan and Stamm contended that the key to achieving historical understanding is first to “understand the past on its own terms.”³⁶ Many things can get in the way of this process, starting with our own biases and perspectives. Howell and Prevenier observed that “every historian occupies a social place that influences not only how the world is seen, but even what is seen,” and Davidson and Lytle warned that “those who reconstruct the past should not do violence to it by making it over in the image of the present.”³⁷ And not only must historians understand the past, they must also share it, because “when the past is not shared, when it lacks people or accessible places that confirm it, the past is less

meaningful. If the past is entirely mediated by professionals and cannot be personally confirmed, it loses credibility.”³⁸

What historians do by sharing is to offer their audience a bridge to the past through those primary sources they have found and interpreted. As David Copeland reminded us, “Documents tell a story that allows each reader to make a connection with the time, the situation and the people of the era.”³⁹ That connection is made as historians write the story that emerges from primary-source material, which is the final step in historiography.

I liken the writing of history to the process of repainting a room: the painting can go quickly and smoothly if all the other preparatory steps are done right. Sloan and Stamm cited Lester Stephens, who said that “good history possesses literary qualities,” and Jill Lepore contended that “using stories to make historical arguments makes sense, [and] a writer who wants to challenge his reader betters his odds to success by telling a story.”⁴⁰ Literary qualities and the use of story, then, could represent taping around fixtures and putting down a drop cloth as the historian prepares to “paint.” And in addition to writing in a compelling, narrative style, scholars suggested other considerations for successful historiography, such as the “dominant mood today is less celebratory [and] more self-reflective” and that historians should “focus their readers’ attention on the historical scene itself and not [simply] on the supporting documents.”⁴¹

The quest for objectivity and rigor should be constantly on the mind of the historian, as Howell and Prevenier reminded us that “there is perhaps no scholarly discipline in the humanities or social sciences in which the goal of pure ‘objectivity’ has been more ardently sought [or] more obsessively worried over.”⁴² It was certainly on my mind professionally—and especially personally—as I contemplated a comprehensive

study of a direct ancestor's life, that I must avoid "falling in love with my subject."⁴³ I am not aware, however, of any scholar who has indicated or advocated a foolproof method for achieving perfect objectivity. The best anyone can do is to constantly check oneself for biased research practices or output. C. Behan McCullagh's method was helpful in this regard as he called for a personal commitment to fairness and a reliance on help from professional colleagues to avoid bias.⁴⁴

Another safeguard against bias, advanced by Eugenia Palmegiano, is that historians can avoid the dishonorable by concentrating on the "particularities [and] the thousands of details that were reality to those living at the time" instead of resorting to "categorizations in order to comprehend the past."⁴⁵ And the most cardinal of sins, when historians "paint a picture that rests on inadequate documentation," is something I can avoid by taking seriously Sloan's statement that "historical research is often more time-consuming and requires more thoroughness than research of any other type."⁴⁶ By keeping my focus on the rigor of thoroughness, I can avoid these traps and tell the compelling story of my subjects, supported by primary sources, and do credit to the profession.

Theory

Theory had a role in this study as I sought to understand and apply the principles of framing and textual silences, both of which can function as analytical tools within the framework of a cultural biography. History scholars, as discussed previously, disagree on theory's utility in historiography due to their aversion to having anything stand in the way of the objective telling of a story. However, theories do represent important tools for researchers to conceptualize and offer explanations about how and why certain phenomena occur. David Bloor observed that theories "are what give meaning to

experience by offering a story about what underlies, connects, and accounts for [them].”⁴⁷

Anthony Greenwald, Anthony Pratkanis, Michael Leippe, and Michael Baumgardner held that theory includes “statements that express relationships among concepts,” and Greenwald et al. further suggested that theories can serve as “essential containers” and “necessary vehicles” in scholarly research, creating conceptual frameworks that facilitate systematic study of a phenomenon.⁴⁸ As I have argued that framing and textual silences have evaluative relevance to a cultural biography of McIntire’s life, I will discuss each of them briefly here.

The construct of framing was first elaborated by Kenneth Burke and Gregory Bateson and made popular by Erving Goffman, according to Joep Cornelissen and Mirjam Werner.⁴⁹ They observed that “few theoretical constructs have such widespread traction” as framing, citing examples of its use in the social sciences in general and linguistics, sociology, cognitive psychology, and journalism and mass-communication research in particular.⁵⁰ Wrote Entman, “Whatever its specific use, the concept of framing consistently offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text.”⁵¹

At its most basic level, a frame is “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events,” and framing has been defined as “a critical activity in the construction of social reality because it helps shape the perspectives through which people see the world.”⁵² Other scholars have posited that framing can be as elementary as selecting certain elements and giving them salience in constructing and conveying a message.⁵³ Regarding the word *salience*, Entman defined it as “making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences.”⁵⁴

Framing scholars Lynn Zoch and Juan-Carlos Molleda conjured the image of a carpenter who builds and places a window in a specific place through which only certain

elements of reality may be viewed. “If the window had been placed, or framed, on a different wall,” they observed, “the view would be different.”⁵⁵ While such a “window” might offer an excellent vista, regardless of its placement, one will never be able to see the entire phenomenon. The exclusion of certain elements from a frame, either intentionally or as the natural result of the placement of the frame, may lead audiences to different interpretations of an issue, and producers and consumers of a frame must be careful to consider that omissions may be just as critical as inclusions.⁵⁶

Application of framing can serve on both micro and macro levels in that it describes how individuals manage strips of reality to make sense of them, as well as how communicators present information in a way that resonates with the cognitive processes of their audiences.⁵⁷ Through the concept of master and subframes, originally developed by David Snow and Robert Benford, scholars Bryan Reber and Bruce Berger showed how communicators can frame arguments so that they resonate with their audience’s view of the world. Using a study of Sierra Club newsletters, Reber and Berger identified subframes that, when attached to master frames, combined to help galvanize club members toward common goals for the environment. For example, the subframe—oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) in Alaska—simply names or describes the issue, and the master frame—drilling in ANWR threatens the wilderness—is ideological or prescribes a specific course of action. Reber and Berger found that the Sierra Club and partner environmental groups did advance their goals in this case because they were able to successfully combine sub- and master frames in their communication efforts by being named as sources nearly three times more often than business or political representatives in media coverage of the environmental issues in question.⁵⁸

Scheufele and Tewksbury held that journalists also use frames to present difficult and complex issues in a way that makes them more easily understood, drawing upon the cognitive schemas that already exist in the minds of their audiences.⁵⁹ The potential problem with this use of framing evokes the question of the framer's selection of information and the salience that they give to it. Consumers may readily understand the frame, given its explanatory power, but it may not contain a balanced representation of both sides of the issue, which may then affect how it is interpreted, understood, or applied. McIntire personified this principle as his paper was known as a "recognized Republican exponent for Southern Indiana," which implies that the Democratic perspective was not well represented in his reportorial frames.⁶⁰

Frames can also be embedded in the four locations associated with the process of communication, namely, the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture.⁶¹ Communicators and audiences operate in these four locations as they apply framing, alternately assuming the role of communicator, crafting a text, which is often a narrative, for single or multiple receivers within a milieu that fosters the creation and sharing of meaning, which is a common definition for culture.⁶²

According to James Tankard, media framing can have powerful yet subtle effects on the consumer of a frame. Those who do the framing in the media are primarily journalists, and the literature often refers to the "packaging" of information in that realm.⁶³ Understanding the constraints that time places on reporters of the news, Todd Gitlin identified frames as enabling journalists "to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely [and to] package the information for efficient relay to their audiences."⁶⁴ Similarly, scholars also refer to journalists as "information processors" who provide "interpretive packages" for their audiences.⁶⁵ McIntire certainly relayed

efficiently a number of these “packages” in his newspaper content through his “pungent paragraphs” on topics such as candidates for political office, local railroad taxes, woman suffrage, and temperance.⁶⁶

As McIntire was a journalist himself, he would have adhered—albeit unknowingly—to the conventions and routines in the production of news, which use frames as cognitive devices for encoding, retrieving, and interpreting information. Zhongdon Pan and Gerald Kosicki contended that every news piece has an organizing, central idea that constitutes the theme of that story and that framing can be conceptualized as “a strategy of constructing and processing news discourse or as a characteristic of the discourse itself.”⁶⁷ Pan and Kosicki even went so far as to equate themes with frames, using the terms synonymously.

Certainly there are other general uses of framing that benefit communicators, such as using media and organizational frames to make sense of crises or choosing specific symbols and words to convey a particular meaning.⁶⁸ Entman and Knight argued that as communicators—journalists or otherwise—grapple with problem solving, framing is an effective tool for them in defining those problems, identifying causes, making moral judgments, and recommending solutions through selecting and making certain facts meaningful or noticeable to their audiences.⁶⁹ McIntire constantly employed this process in his newspaper during his *Commercial* years as he promoted the building of a normal (teachers) college and bringing industry and infrastructure to Mitchell, as well as promoting his political party both locally and nationally.⁷⁰

While theorists have praised framing for its broad application to so many fields, they also acknowledged that it “has been vulnerable to criticism as an imprecise catchall that means slightly different things to each researcher employing it.”⁷¹ Even Entman

himself, while extolling the utility of framing, referred to it as a “fractured paradigm,” meaning that there are few unifying principles within the concept that link most of its adherents together.⁷² Adding to the complexity of perspectives on framing is the question of whether the construct should be construed as a theory or a method. Given its conceptual roots in the works of Bateson and Goffman, for example, framing has decidedly theoretical applications.⁷³ Other scholars, such as Entman and McCombs, consider framing in terms of *what* information is conveyed in a message and *how* it is presented.⁷⁴ This interpretation looks upon framing as a methodology, which relates more closely to how I will argue in this dissertation that framing can function as an analytical tool in historiography.

I acknowledge that attempting to consider all of the just-named dimensions of framing will not serve the present purpose to meaningfully explore how framing can inform the writing of a cultural biography. Therefore, to harness the power that framing can offer in a specific context for a specific purpose, this study narrowed the focus and application of framing to three aspects—content, process, and placement of frames—within the context of cultural biography.

McCombs, one of framing’s preeminent theorists, contended “sometimes this concept refers to a particular frame in media *content* and at other times to the *process* of framing.”⁷⁵ Entman made a similar argument about frame content by suggesting “the term ‘frame’ seems clearly appropriate because it does refer to substantive information in the communicating text that can promote particular interpretations and evaluations.” He also acknowledged that “the process of selecting and highlighting some aspects of a perceived reality, and enhancing the salience of an interpretation and evaluation of that reality” is an important function of framing.⁷⁶

The framing typology elaborated in this study therefore included both of these dimensions in that it considered the substantive information to which McIntire, his peers, and the researcher gave salience, as well as the process that surrounded its selection. The third aspect of this typology considered where McIntire and others who wrote about him chose to mount Zoch and Molleda's metaphorical window frame, which facilitated the inclusion of certain details and the suppression of others in McIntire's diaries, his and other newspaper accounts, contemporary life sketches of McIntire, and this very cultural biography. The excluded information in those frames constitute the textual silences of those communicating texts, which merit equal time in the following paragraphs and in the typology to be applied in Chapter Eight of this dissertation.

Barbara Johnstone argued that silence holds a powerful place in spoken, written, and signed discourse. "In addition to being shaped by what *is* said," she wrote, "the worlds evoked and created in discourse also are shaped by silence: by what *cannot* be said or is *not* said."⁷⁷ David Machin and Andrea Mayr discussed the idea of suppression, a concept similar to silence, contending that "what is missing from a text is just as important as what is in a text."⁷⁸ Similarly, Griffith observed that her subject, William Allen White, also understood that "what was *not* made public was as important as what was."⁷⁹ Regardless of the name applied to the phenomenon, textual silences play a critical role in media discourse and what organizations mentioned in that discourse offer in response.

While Huckin acknowledged that there have been a number of "book-length treatments" on the power of silences in discourse, he wondered why so few have given it the attention he feels it merits. He answered his own question with this simple observation: "It's difficult to analyze something that's 'not there.'"⁸⁰ In agreement,

Johnstone acknowledged that “noting silences, things that are *not* present, is more difficult than noticing things that *are* present.”⁸¹

Although silences can be hard to identify, Raymie McKerrow, citing Robert Hariman, spoke to the power that is inherent in silence by casting it as a “dynamic of concealment and unconcealment [of truth]—of authorizing and marginalizing.”⁸² Referring to framing theory specifically, Kirk Hallahan explained that “framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in the communicating text.”⁸³ It follows, then, that the “omission of some piece of information that is pertinent to the topic at hand” becomes the textual silence that is essentially inseparable from the frame created.⁸⁴

Referring to textual silences, Johnstone argued, “Struggles over power and control are often struggles over whose words get used and whose do not and over who gets to speak and who does not.”⁸⁵ Griffith placed this tension in the context of the world of the small-town editor: “The proprietor of the local newspaper wielded special powers. He determined which events and people were deemed ‘newsworthy.’”⁸⁶ By extension, then, an author, who selects and gives salience to a piece of information in a text, exercises power by “authorizing” or “selecting” some information while “marginalizing” other information, suppressing it from the audience simply by failing to include it in the text.

McIntire’s exercise of power through framing and textual silences is not addressed at length here, but this dissertation does identify textual silences through framing, both in the historical evidence and in the narrative created by the cultural biographer, and uncovers and elaborates nuances of emotion, motive, and attitude that might have been missed if the focus were only on what is “there” in the text. In attempting to identify textual silences, it may be easier to detect them by briefly looking

at their six different classifications as identified by Huckin—topical, conventional, discreet, lexical, implicational, and presuppositional—as well as the elements that comprise them, such as intertextuality, interdiscursivity, metaphor and foregrounding, abstraction, and the visual image.

Topical silences, Huckin explained, “are commonplace and are usually benign” unless “some topic relevant to a larger issue is omitted from discussion.”⁸⁷ In a journalistic sense, a topical silence is created when a writer devotes attention to one side of an issue and ignores or minimizes the other. Conventional silences are those that are typically accepted or expected by the audience because the given genre of discourse calls for them. Examples of conventional silences are those that are found in obituaries, where generally the virtues of the deceased are reported and their vices are left alone. Discreet silences avoid articulating information that may be sensitive, offensive, or inappropriate, such as privacy, sexuality, politics, or religion—topics that might be avoided in polite company. Lexical silences are employed when word choices are at the discretion of the writer and which carry varying connotations with them. An example of a lexical silence would be describing a person as either *reserved* or *shy*, where *reserved* is often perceived as a less-pointed characterization of a person who is not outgoing or charismatic. Implicational silences include inferences to something left unstated. For example, a husband stating that his wife’s choice of attire looks “fine” will prompt her to change her outfit because she interprets the response in a way that suggests the husband is not impressed by her ensemble. Presuppositional silences are those that assume that certain information is already known to the reader and is not included in the text. An example of such silences is the hashtag. Including #blacklivesmatter in a social-media post references a movement to draw attention to the deaths of African American men who have died at

the hands of police. Use of the hashtag presupposes that the reader is familiar with the issue it represents. McIntire and those who wrote about him employed each of these types of silences in their writings, and salient examples of these are highlighted in the Discussion chapter of this study.⁸⁸

As for other elements related to textual silences, Johnstone credited French scholar Julia Kristeva with coining the term “intertextuality” and explained that it is the process in which “texts and ways of talking” refer to and build on other texts and discourses.⁸⁹ Intertextuality allows texts to draw upon other texts, but rather than replicating the theme or content of a previous text, it borrows from its words and structures.⁹⁰ This occurred often in McIntire’s newspaper writings when he would include excerpts, quotes, or full reprints of articles. However, McIntire was not always consistent in citing his sources. In one amusing example, the editor of the Bloomington *Courier*, a rival paper, took McIntire to task for “borrowing” material directly from his paper to publish in the *Commercial* without citing the original source.⁹¹ Interdiscursivity is related to intertextuality in that it also allows texts to draw upon other texts, but rather than “mimicking words, structures, purposes and ways of talking,” it replicates the theme or content of a previous text.⁹² Another way that intertextuality is evident is through the use of metaphor. According to Machin and Mayr, metaphors “are so familiar with us that they often go unnoticed. Nevertheless they bring with them different kinds of qualities, foregrounding some things and concealing others.”⁹³ Therefore, by “foregrounding” and “concealing,” metaphors contribute directly to silences in texts.

Texts generally contain a mix of concrete and abstract elements. In journalism, an episodic or hard-news story is long on facts and short on opinion, while a feature or thematic story will generally touch lightly on details and take one side or another on a

particular issue.⁹⁴ Similarly, Machin and Mayr cited Theo Van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak, who “suggest that wherever actual details are replaced by abstractions we can assume that some kind of ideological work is taking place.”⁹⁵ Given McIntire’s staunch Republicanism, much of his public writing was ideological and certainly relevant to this conceptualization.

The use of imagery can also play a role in silences. Machin and Mayr discussed the power of the visual: “Images . . . are managed to present a particular interpretation of the attitude, character, and identity of the person and consequently is another semiotic resource by which events and comments can be evaluated implicitly.”⁹⁶ McIntire used imagery in powerful but distinct ways on successive days in his diary. On February 7, 1898, he wrote: “The day was like May, the birds were out in force and their songs were heard in every tree, it is such a day as to make an old invalid like myself feel glad to be alive.” The next day, he was equally descriptive about the less-than-pleasant state of his digestive system: “I was not well all night or to-day, suffered from impaction of bowels and hemorrhoids with hemorrhage.” Even though McIntire’s newspaper contained few images, limited to advertisements, and his diaries featured no images at all, save some few newspaper clippings, the imagery he used in both media will likely enhance the telling of his life story.

Conclusion

Concluding this section on method and theory, through the description of the historical method in general and the methodology specific to this study, the implicit argument is that the historical method was the best approach for compiling McIntire’s cultural biography. It allowed for the most objective recounting of his life by appealing to

primary sources for the evidence, encouraging responsible interpretation of that evidence, and writing a narrative that is factual, compelling, and showed McIntire as an individual whenever possible. The theory discussion on framing and textual silences offered the basis for using these concepts as analytical tools. Admittedly, identifying and interpreting textual silences is a speculative venture, but it has the potential to enhance the understanding of why McIntire's actions made sense from his standpoint as a historical actor, which is the essence of cultural history.

Notes from Chapter 3

¹ Carey, "Journalism History," 3–4.

² Ibid., 3–5, italics added.

³ Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 72.

⁴ Ibid., 70.

⁵ Carl Bridenbaugh, "The Great Mutation," *American Historical Review* 68, no. 3 (January 1963): 326.

⁶ Lawrence R. Frey, Carl H. Botan, and Gary L. Kreps, *Investigating Communication: An Introduction to Research Methods* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000), 280.

⁷ Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 14.

⁸ Ibid., 50.

⁹ Ibid., xii.

¹⁰ Davidson and Lytle, *After the Fact*, xiv.

¹¹ W. David Sloan, "Why Study History?" *American Journalism* 10, nos. 3–4 (Summer–Fall 1993): 8–9.

¹² Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 3; see Lester D. Stephens, *Probing the Past: A Guide to the Study and Teaching of History* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1974), 13.

¹³ Robin Winks, ed., *The Historian As Detective: Essays on Evidence* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), xv; Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 47; William Taft, *Newspapers As Tools for Historians* (Columbia, MO: Lucas Brothers, 1970), 25.

¹⁴ Allan Lichtman and Valerie French, *Historians and the Living Past* (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1978), 213.

¹⁵ John Durham Peters, "History As a Communication Problem," *Explorations in Communication and History*, ed. Barbie Zelizer (New York: Routledge, 2008), 22.

¹⁶ Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 79.

¹⁷ Michael Isenberg, *Puzzles of the Past: An Introduction to Thinking about History* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1985), 12; J. H. Hexter, *Doing History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1971), 9.

¹⁸ Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 51–53.

¹⁹ Ibid., 82–83.

²⁰ Ibid., 51.

²¹ Nevins, "American Journalism," 413.

²² Martha Howell and Walter Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 69.

²³ Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 194.

²⁴ Lichtman and French, *Living Past*, 118.

²⁵ Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 196.

²⁶ Ibid., 197; Patrick D. Reagan, *History and the Internet: A Guide* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 32; David A. Copeland, "It's Primary: The Importance of Primary Documents in Conducting Research," *Journalism Studies* 7, no. 3 (2006): 464.

²⁷ Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 197.

²⁸ Frank E. Fee, Jr., "Savoring the Peggy Blanchard Moment," *Journalism Studies* 7, no. 3 (2006): 467.

²⁹ Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 200–210.

³⁰ Ibid., 210–214.

- ³¹ Davidson and Lytle, *After the Fact*, 57–61.
- ³² Howell and Prevenier, *Reliable Sources*, 61–68.
- ³³ Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 52.
- ³⁴ Jim McPherson, “Theory in History May Have Uses—But Not Many,” *American Journalism* 22, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 139.
- ³⁵ David R. Spencer, “To Theorize or Not to Theorize,” *American Journalism* 22, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 145.
- ³⁶ Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 52.
- ³⁷ Howell and Prevenier, *Reliable Sources*, 146; Davidson and Lytle, *After the Fact*, 87.
- ³⁸ Robert R. Archibald, “A Personal History of Memory,” in *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*, eds. Jacob. J. Climo and Maria G. Cattell (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002), 80.
- ³⁹ Copeland, “It’s Primary,” 464.
- ⁴⁰ Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 53; Jill Lepore, “Historical Writing and the Revival of Narrative,” *Nieman Reports* 56, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 53.
- ⁴¹ Howell and Prevenier, *Reliable Sources*, 15; Davidson and Lytle, *After the Fact*, 48.
- ⁴² Howell and Prevenier, *Reliable Sources*, 146.
- ⁴³ Mark Feldstein, “The Journalism Biography: Methodology, Analysis and Writing,” *Journalism Studies* 7, no. 3 (2006): 474.
- ⁴⁴ C. Behan McCullagh, “Bias in Historical Description, Interpretation, and Explanation,” *History and Theory* 39, no. 1 (February 2000): 41–42.
- ⁴⁵ Eugenia M. Palmegiano, “Re-Constructing Media History,” *American Journalism* 22, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 133.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., 134; Sloan, *Why Study History*, 8.
- ⁴⁷ David Bloor, *Knowledge and Social Imagery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 16.
- ⁴⁸ Anthony G. Greenwald, et al., “Under What Conditions Does Theory Obstruct Research Progress?” *Psychological Review* 93, no. 2 (1986): 217.
- ⁴⁹ Kenneth Burke, *Attitudes Toward History* (New York: New Republic, 1937); Gregory Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind: Collected Essays in Anthropology, Psychiatry, Evolution and Epistemology* (San Francisco: Chandler, 1972); Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974).
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- ⁵² David Tewksbury and Dietram A. Scheufele, “News Framing Theory and Research,” in *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*, eds. Jennings Bryant and Mary Beth Oliver (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 2009), 17–33; Kirk Hallahan, “Seven Models of Framing: Implications for Public Relations,” *Journal of Public Relations Research* 11, no. 3 (1993): 207.
- ⁵³ Hallahan, “Seven Models,” 207; Eytan Gilboa, “Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (March 2008): 55–77.
- ⁵⁴ Entman, “Fractured Paradigm,” 53.

- ⁵⁵ Lynn M. Zoch and Juan-Carlos Molleda, "Building a Theoretical Model of Media Relations Using Framing, Information Subsidies, and Agenda-Building," in *Public Relations Theory II*, eds. Carl H. Botan and Vincent Hazleton (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006), 281.
- ⁵⁶ Entman, "Fractured Paradigm, 52;" Thomas N. Huckin, "Critical Discourse Analysis and the Discourse of Condescension," in *Discourse Studies in Composition*, eds. Ellen Barton and Gail Stygall (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2002), 155–176; Porismith Borah, "Conceptual Issues in Framing Theory: A Systematic Examination of a Decade's Literature," *Journal of Communication* 61, no. 2 (2011): 246–263; David Machin and Andrea Mayr, *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2012), 70.
- ⁵⁷ Goffman, *Frame Analysis*; Dietram Scheufele, "Framing As a Theory of Media Effects," *Journal of Communication* 49, no. 1 (1999): 105; Dietram Scheufele and David Tewksbury, "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media-effects Models," *Journal of Communication* 57 (2007): 12.
- 2007; Cornelissen and Werner, "Putting Framing in Perspective," 182.
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- ⁵⁹ Scheufele and Tewksbury, "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming," 105–106.
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- ⁶¹ Entman, "Fractured Paradigm," 52.
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- ⁶⁴ Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), 7.
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⁷⁰ See also, for example, *Mitchell Commercial*, June 1 1876, 1; February 17, 1881, 2; March 10, 1881, 2; February 2, 1882, 2; and August 24, 1882, 2.

⁷¹ Robert M. Entman, *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 5.

⁷² Entman, "Fractured Paradigm," 51.

⁷³ In Bateson's *Ecology of Mind*, 191, he wrote that a frame is "a spatial and temporal bounding of a set of interactive messages." Goffman wrote in *Frame Analysis*, 21, that framing is "a primary framework [that can be] seen as rendering what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful."

⁷⁴ See Maxwell McCombs, *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), and Entman, *Projections of Power*.

⁷⁵ McCombs, *Setting the Agenda*, 87.

⁷⁶ Entman, *Projections of Power*, 27.

⁷⁷ Barbara Johnstone, *Discourse Analysis* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 12, *italics added*.

⁷⁸ Machin and Mayr, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 85.

⁷⁹ Griffith, *Home Town News*, 4.

⁸⁰ Thomas N. Huckin, "On Textual Silences, Large and Small," in *Traditions of Writing Research*, eds. Charles Robert Krut, Karen Lunsford, Susan McLeod, Suzie Null, Paul Rogers, and Amanda Stansell (New York: Routledge, 2010), 419.

⁸¹ Johnstone, *Discourse Analysis*, 70, *italics added*.

⁸² Raymie E. McKerrow, "Critical Rhetoric: Theory and Praxis," *Communication Monographs* 56 (June 1989): 104; Robert Hariman, "Status, Marginality and Rhetorical Theory," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 72 (1986): 32–54.

⁸³ Hallahan, "Seven Models," 207.

⁸⁴ Huckin, "Discourse of Homelessness," 348.

⁸⁵ Johnstone, *Discourse Analysis*, 71.

⁸⁶ Griffith, *Home Town News*, 3–4.

⁸⁷ Huckin, "On Textual Silences," 423.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 419–429.

⁸⁹ Johnstone, *Discourse Analysis*, 164; See Julie Kristeva, *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. Toril Moi (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986).

⁹⁰ Christopher N. Candlin and Yon Maley, "Intertextuality and Interdiscursivity in the Discourse of Alternative Dispute Resolution," in *The Construction of Professional Discourse*, eds. Britt-Louise Gunnarsson, Per Linell, and Bengt Nordberg (London: Longman, 1997), 201–222; Johnstone, *Discourse Analysis*, 164–167.

⁹¹ This reference comes from a clipping from the *Bloomington Courier* found in McIntire's 1876 diary: "The Mitchell Commercial has a new editor. We wish the gentleman, Mr. McIntire, success, financially, and also hope that hereafter when he clips original matter from the COURIER he will give us proper credit. Those 'Post Office Rules,' standing out in bold relief on the first page of his paper last week, first appeared

in the COURIER.” The undated clipping likely coincides with McIntire’s return as full-time editor of the *Commercial* in March 1876.

⁹² Candlin and Maley, “Intertextuality,” 201–222; Johnstone, *Discourse Analysis*, 164–167.

⁹³ Machin and Mayr, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 170.

⁹⁴ Shanto Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

⁹⁵ Machin and Mayr, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 91; Ruth Wodak and Theo Van Leeuwen, “Legitimizing Immigration Control: A Discourse-Historical Analysis,” *Discourse Studies* 1, no. 1 (1999): 83–118.

⁹⁶ Machin and Mayr, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 70.

CHAPTER FOUR

WINTER

A time to be born . . . a time to break down, and a time to build up.

— *Ecclesiastes 3:2, 3*

*1876: Snowed most of last night and is as cold and disagreeable this morning as any day of the winter.*¹

*1899: The day was very pleasant and bright, as pritty [sic] a winter as is ever seen.*²

As indicated previously, the narrative chapters of the life of Dr. Elihu S. McIntire will mirror the ritual of the seasons and the calendar, both of which he paid meticulous attention to as a diarist and journalist. In the Northern Hemisphere, where McIntire lived, winter straddles the close of one year and the opening of another. Scottish poet James Thomson (1700–1748) captured the renewing role of winter in these lines from his poem “The Seasons — Winter”:

All nature feels the renovating force
Of winter; only to the thoughtless eye
Is ruin seen. The frost-concocted glebe
Draws in abundant vegetable soul,
And gathers vigor for the coming year.³

Winter is both end and beginning, not only on the Gregorian calendar, but also in serving as a bridge between fall and spring, forming a foundation for a new cycle of seasons. This

chapter covers the winter months of January, February, and March literally, as chronicled in McIntire's diaries and journals, and elaborates on themes that metaphorically reflect foundational experiences in McIntire's life to include his ancestry, birth, and formative years leading up to his late teens before leaving home to work as a schoolteacher. This chapter then concludes with a discussion of which elements of the winter of McIntire's life might have foreshadowed his later journalistic tendencies.

Parents and Cultural Heritage of Elihu S. McIntire

Charles and Isabel McIntire, born in Northern Ireland and Western (now West) Virginia in 1795 and 1798, respectively, were the parents of Elihu S. McIntire. They were married in Washington County, Ohio, about 1820 and shortly thereafter settled on the western edge of the Appalachian mountain range.⁴ The reader can find a detailed description of their parentage and the circumstances that surrounded their births and early lives in Appendix A of this dissertation.

As there are few specifics known about Charles and Isabel themselves, a glance at the culture and ethnicity they shared from their Scotch-Irish ancestry may be helpful in understanding them, as well as the values they instilled in their children. Author James Webb offered this broad description of their time and place:

Two hundred years ago the mountains built a fierce and uncomplaining self-reliance into an already-hardened people. . . . Their bloodline was stained by centuries of continuous warfare along the border between England and Scotland, and then in the bitter settlements of England's Ulster Plantation in Northern Ireland. Their religion was a harsh and demanding Calvinism that sowed the seeds of America's Bible belt, its on-your-feet independence instead of on-your-knees ritualism, offending English Anglicans and Irish Catholics alike. . . . Mostly they came in families . . . and thus retained their cultural identity long after leaving Ireland. They came to America on small boats that took months to cross the Atlantic, as many as 30 percent of their passengers dying on a typical voyage. They settled . . . in the raw and unforgiving mountain wilderness . . . the

overwhelming majority populating an area along the Appalachians that stretched from Pennsylvania to Georgia.⁵

With this ethnic, political, religious, fraternal, and bucolic background, it is little wonder that Charles and Isabel reared their children to work, worship, and be active in community activities and the democratic—with a small “d”—process. It was into this familial environment that Elihu McIntire was born on January 9, 1832.

National and Local Picture

At the time of Elihu McIntire’s birth in 1832 to Charles and Isabel McIntire, the U.S. population stood at just under 13 million living in 24 states with a density of 7.4 inhabitants per square mile.⁶ Andrew Jackson was preparing to run for a second term as president of the United States. Like McIntire, Jackson was born into a Scotch-Irish farming family with little material wealth [See Appendix A].⁷ Many Americans identified closely with Jackson’s roots, and his presidency completed the transition from Jeffersonian to Jacksonian democracy, where ordinary citizens began to assert political power over educated elites through the electoral process. Jackson and his successors helped the new Democratic Party to establish itself as the party of farmers and workers, as an opponent to the privileged class, and as a proponent of cheap western land for ordinary Americans.⁸ While Jackson is generally praised for these policies, he is universally condemned today for signing the Removal Act of 1830, which moved Native American tribes from Southern and Great Lakes states to reservations in what are now Oklahoma and Kansas, thus clearing the way for white settlers to keep moving west.⁹ This removal might account at least partially for the silences in McIntire’s public and private writings about Native Americans. As an Ohio and Indiana resident, he would

have had little daily contact with them, given their “removal,” and consequently, what little he did write about them, he wrote from a distance.¹⁰

Closer to home, Ohio’s population in 1830 was just under 938,000, and in Washington County it was 11,731. A mere 10 years later Ohio had 1.5 million inhabitants, and Washington County boasted nearly 22,000 residents, an increase of 62 and 77 percent, respectively. The data indicate that at the time of Elihu McIntire’s birth and during his early years, more and more settlers came to the state to find a place of their own.¹¹ A 19th-century history of Washington County, Ohio, characterized this increase in population around 1830 as a “second period of settlement,” which followed the initial occupation around the turn of the 19th century by New Englanders, who took up the fertile lands along streams and rivers. Others who came along soon afterward found the rich-soil areas occupied and continued on to western Ohio, Indiana, or Illinois. This subsequent migration into Ohio was comprised generally “of men of smaller expectations and humbler hopes than their predecessors” and “of small means but sturdy ability to labor, and possessed those well-grounded habits of industry and economy which are always productive of thrift, whatever may be the nature of the surrounding circumstances.”¹² Although Charles preceded this “second migration” by a few years, with his plebeian parentage [see Appendix A] he would certainly have fit more comfortably into this latter group of settlers.

The Land, the Farm, and Farm Life

After his marriage in 1820 to Isabel Dailey, Charles McIntire purchased about 150 acres of land along the western banks of the Little Muskingum River in April 1821, and he later added another 80 acres to his holdings in the area in 1827.¹³ The original

tract of the McIntire farm lay in a narrow valley on land much more hilly than flat, typical of the Ohio landscape at the western edge of the Appalachians. Dense concentrations of oak grew on the slopes rising abruptly from the valley floor, which consisted of a swath of a mere 150 to 200 feet of level, arable land between the river and the steep hillsides. Such topography allowed only a few acres of corn or wheat to be planted there, but other, less-steep hills on the property could have been cleared of trees for grazing livestock. Simply put, there was not enough level ground there to plant and harvest for profit.¹⁴ It is more probable that the family merely subsisted from year to year, personifying the motto of the MacIntyre clan: *Per ardua* (through difficulty).¹⁵ It is also possible that Charles or other extended-family members farmed the land for years before he bought it, since it was common practice for settlers to live as squatters on Congressional land and then purchase it later.¹⁶

As there are no surviving accounts from Charles or Isabel Dailey McIntire about their Ohio years, see Appendix B for a general description of farm life on the edge of the wilderness in the 19th-century Midwest, which offers “the structure of feeling” that Carey suggested was a critical part of cultural history. That description also considers what it might have been like for Charles and Isabel McIntire as they began their life together and brought children one by one into their family. It also addresses the challenges that frontier women such as Isabel would have faced as wives and mothers in their homes. And by the time Isabel was certain that she was expecting her sixth child, she would have been well-versed in what lay ahead for her and the impact it would have on her personally and on her family.

Birth, Birthplace, and Elihu's Place on the Farm

If the childbirth ritual of the period held true to form, Elihu's father Charles probably sent for the local midwife to assist his Isabel with the delivery of their sixth child and third son on that day. Isabel's mother or one or more of Isabel's sisters could also have been summoned if they lived near enough. Regardless of who attended Isabel during her labor, however, Charles was most likely banished to another room or perhaps to his farm chores to wait for word of the new addition to his family, while the women tended to Isabel and her new baby.¹⁷

Given Elihu's regular and detailed observations of the weather in his later life, it is appropriate to surmise what the meteorological conditions might have been like on January 9, 1832, in southeastern Ohio, where he was born. The weather observations from Elihu's diary, which appeared as quotes at the beginning of this chapter, are from his Mitchell, Indiana, period, where he lived most of his adult life. But those descriptions would not be vastly different from what the weather was like at his birthplace, about 300 miles to the east.¹⁸ No official weather records exist for his birthdate and place because meteorological data in the United States were not reported to the Smithsonian Institution until 1849, and the National Weather Service was not established until 1870.¹⁹ However, 20th-century weather data for his birthplace show that the record low for January was -20°F in 1950, and the record high was 76°F in 1984.²⁰ Given the average low temperature of 19°F and the high of 39°F , and an average of 3.3 inches of precipitation for the area in January, it was probably cold, and more than likely snow was on the ground the day McIntire was born.²¹

Most biographies do not offer a detailed description of the meteorological conditions on the day the protagonist entered the mortal stage, but to offer the kind of

retelling that reflects the personality and interests of Elihu S. McIntire, the state of the weather on that or any other day takes precedence over anything else. In his last nine diaries (1884 and later), McIntire recorded the temperature each day at sunrise, midday, and sunset, as well as a one- or two-word description of the weather and wind direction. And of all the topics addressed in his diaries, the weather was mentioned more often than any other.²²

McIntire later reflected on the circumstances surrounding his birth in a diary entry in 1896: "I am 64 years old to-day, was born in Ludlow Township, Washington County, Ohio, on the 9th of January, 1832, at Reinard's Mill, on the Little Muskingum River, six miles from Grandview."²³ In two other entries in his diary he referred to his birthplace as "Rinart's Mill" and "Reinarts Mill," respectively, which today is officially known as Rinard Mills.²⁴ And the "Grandview" he mentioned in his diary is actually Graysville, which is indeed about six miles from Rinard Mills.²⁵ Other sources, namely sketches of his life from 1880 and 1884, list his birthplace as "Mariette [*sic*], Ohio," which is actually 20 miles to the south of Rinard Mills.²⁶

As for Elihu's affirming that Rinard Mills is a part of Ludlow Township in Washington County, a curious fact about Charles McIntire's land places that assertion in doubt. Some maps from the period indeed show his farm in the northeast corner of Ludlow Township in Washington County, Ohio, while others have it at the southern end of Washington Township, Monroe County, Ohio.²⁷ Charles's 1821 land deeds clearly state the location of the property as being in Monroe County, but census data for the family appear on the rolls of Ludlow Township, Washington County.²⁸ As of 2016, Rinard Mills is decidedly in Washington Township, Monroe County. However, with Washington Township on one side of the county line and Washington County on the

other, it is understandable that there was some confusion among residents, mapmakers, historians, genealogists, and apparently Elihu himself.²⁹

As McIntire indicated in his January 9, 1896, diary entry, he was “raised up to all kinds of farm work,” so there is little doubt that Charles and Isabel employed him as parents might any young boy on a farm in the 1830s: chopping wood and filling the woodbox, caring for the vegetable garden and fruit trees, feeding livestock, cleaning the barn and animal pens, and shadowing his older brothers and father as they worked in the fields, on fences, and other tasks needing their attention.

The Move West

In his diary, McIntire mentions his family’s move from Ohio to Spencer County, Indiana, in 1839.³⁰ The fact that the family moved is well documented, but the reasons for the relocation and how the family got from Ohio to Indiana are not. The record is silent on most of the details of their move, how members of the McIntire family felt about it, and why Spencer County, Indiana, was chosen as the destination. The circumstances were certainly emotionally and physically trying for Isabel; not only was there the possibility that she was leaving her mother and siblings behind in Ohio, but she was also in the last months of a pregnancy. Her daughter Isabel, called Belle by her family, was born in May 1839 in Spencer County, Indiana, after they arrived at their new place, and it is probable that they did not leave Ohio until March or April 1839 when the weather was more favorable.³¹ Elihu mentioned the journey but thrice in his diary, stating matter-of-factly: “Came with my parents to Spencer County,” “Came to Spencer County, Indiana, with my parents,” and “I came with my parents to Rockport, Indiana.”³²

Charles and Isabel McIntire would have had two options in moving themselves, their children, and their belongings from Rinard Mills, Ohio, to Spencer County, Indiana, in 1839. The first was overland via the National Road. This early interstate highway came into being after being approved by President Thomas Jefferson in 1806 to facilitate western expansion. Contracts were let, and road construction and bridge-building began in 1811.³³ By 1840 the National Road stretched from Baltimore, Maryland, through the Cumberland Gap in the Appalachians, crossed the states of Pennsylvania, (West) Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and terminated at Vandalia in central Illinois.³⁴

If the family had chosen to travel by wagon, they would have headed north from Rinard Mills, Ohio, about 60 miles to Cambridge, Ohio, picked up the National Road there and turned west. The road would have followed the route that is now Interstate 70 and taken them through Columbus and Dayton, Ohio, to Indianapolis, Indiana, a stretch of about 250 miles. Then the McIntire family would have turned south and moved along what are now Interstate 69 and U.S. 231 to Rockport, traveling through towns such as Bloomington, Cincinnati, and Scotland, Indiana, a distance of about 170 miles, for a total distance of approximately 500 miles.³⁵

With the average wagon-driving emigrant covering about 20 miles a day on the National Road, the trip could have lasted four to six weeks, taking into account that the less-improved roads along the route might not have allowed the freedom of movement that the National Road offered. Such a journey was rough on travelers, wagons, and horses alike. Typically, weather, sickness, and tolls (18 cents or more paid at tollhouses every 10 to 15 miles) took their toll on people, pack animals, and pocketbooks.³⁶

Another alternative for Charles and Isabel McIntire in bringing their family from Ohio to Indiana was to travel by boat on the Ohio River. This scenario would have

involved less overland travel: 30 miles total (25 miles to Marietta, Ohio, and then about six miles from the port of Rockport, Indiana, to their new farm in Spencer County, Indiana) compared to 500 for the land route. The 575 river-miles of the trip had the potential to be less taxing on pregnant Isabel and the duration much shorter, as little as three days, subject on the height of the river and any other unforeseen delays en route.³⁷ And if the family traveled in March or April—the most probable time frame—the spring runoff would have ensured higher water levels for boats to more easily navigate obstacles that posed greater problems at low ebb.³⁸

The regular fare for steamboat passage in the 1830s was 25 dollars from Louisville to New Orleans, a distance of 1,200 miles. Boatmen could have “shelter, a berth, and fire” at four to six dollars each for the same trip if they helped “take in wood” while on board.³⁹ If the McIntire family had opted to travel on the Ohio, they might have paid approximately \$12.50 per person—or even less if Charles negotiated the boatman rate—for the 575-mile journey from Marietta to Rockport.

In the end, it might have been the cost, the shorter duration of the journey, and the comfort that a river trip afforded pregnant Isabel that led Charles to bring his family by boat to Indiana. That they traveled by water was established by an account found among McIntire family papers, which stated, “When [Elihu] was in his sixth year the family came down the Ohio to Spencer County, Indiana, where the family took government land.”⁴⁰ This observation might explain why McIntire wrote in his 1898 diary that “[I] came with my parents *to* Rockport, Indiana,” which suggests that the family arrived first at the county seat and then traveled the few miles to their farm in Grass Township, Spencer County.⁴¹

Once the family arrived in Indiana, dozens of details would have occupied Charles and Isabel to include getting settled on their farm, building temporary shelter, acquiring livestock and farm equipment, and arranging for purchase of the land. The purchase was not finalized until August 1839, and the federal-type land deed for the property indicates that Charles did not acquire the land from a prior, private owner, which would mean virgin land with no house, outbuildings, fences, wells, or other infrastructure.⁴² Most important, the family needed to be settled somewhere because Isabel was due to deliver their eighth child, Belle, who arrived on May 16, 1839, born in Spencer County.⁴³

Their new place, located in Grass Township, Spencer County, looked vastly different from their farm in Appalachia. The tract, at 40 acres, was considerably smaller in overall size, but the land was flat and could be devoted almost entirely to growing crops, so the yield would likely be significantly greater than what they might have had in Ohio.⁴⁴ One fringe benefit that came with the relocation were the excellent hunting opportunities in Grass Township, as recorded in a history of the county:

Wild game was abundant, and it was no uncommon occurrence in those days for some one of the family to open the door in the morning and with the ever ready gun, shoot a deer from the doorstep, thus having fresh venison for breakfast.⁴⁵

Just as he did in Ohio, Elihu continued working on the family farm in Spencer County. This and other experiences in the next few years would have included going to school, attending services at the local Methodist church with his parents, both of whom were active congregants, and the deaths of his 19-year-old sister Maria in 1843 of unknown causes, and his brother Esau in 1846 as a soldier in the Mexican War, while serving in the rank of private in Captain Crooks' Company, Fourth Regiment, Indiana Volunteers.⁴⁶ Elihu did not mention either of these siblings in his diaries, but since he

was 11 and 14 years old, respectively, when they passed away, their deaths occurred as he figuratively transitioned from this dormant but formative winter season of his life.

As noted previously, McIntire's later-life interest in the weather and seasons prompted the structuring of the biography portion of this dissertation into chapters corresponding to winter, spring, summer, and fall. Not only do the time periods of his life mesh well with this seasonal structure, but salient themes in the content of the *Commercial* and in McIntire's diaries also appeared to correspond with the seasons. These topics will be explored in the concluding pages of the Winter, Spring, and Summer chapters to illustrate what themes were on McIntire's mind during those seasons, as elaborated in his public and private records. In contrast, the predominant newspaper and diary themes for autumn will be considered as they "fall" in the narrative rather than reserving a separate section for them in the Fall chapter.

Winter Themes from McIntire's Writings

Winter is a force to be reckoned with in the rural Midwest, flexing its frosty muscles over the landscape and its inhabitants and bringing discomfort and disease in its wake.⁴⁷ The effect of the cold was generally not pleasant for McIntire, personally as well as professionally, even with his keen interest in weather events. On more than one occasion in his diary he observed that the temperature was "as cold as Greenland," and in his newspaper he once described the winter weather as "cold as church charity."⁴⁸ In such cases it was too cold to do anything that was not absolutely necessary. For example, on one occasion it was so bitter one morning, he wrote, that he would not have gone to town except to fill out his pension voucher, a ritual that was only necessary every three months.⁴⁹

The extreme temperature affected his health—"I always suffer when it snows"—and his animals, as he recorded on February 12, 1895: "We had two lambs dropped last night, both froze to death; we are losing more than half of the lambs that come."⁵⁰ In his newspaper he announced the "worst hail storm ever seen in our town," "the damage done by the rise in the Ohio River cannot well be calculated," and he metaphorically lamented the widespread damage caused by the winter weather: "Blizzards and floods are the interesting visitors that most parts of the Union has [*sic*] been entertaining during the last week."⁵¹

But McIntire also saw some redeeming qualities of snowy weather. In one of his earliest diary entries, from 1871, he offered a winter description full of contrasts: "This morning the sleet is so hard as to bear up the heaviest men. Boys are scating [*sic*] all over town, and at night the larger children are out coasting."⁵² He observed a "sky as mild as Italy," to show that some Indiana winter days were tolerable, and he showed he could indeed adapt to the conditions from an early-February thaw: "It is too muddy to get about the farm, so I went in town, for it is good going on the railroad," as he walked the tracks near his farm to Mitchell, just a mile to the west.⁵³ McIntire also showed compassion for others affected by the cold: "A family of tramps are camped in our ice house."⁵⁴ He offered no other details about this charitable episode, but the morning-low temperatures he recorded for the next two days, 4°F and 7°F, respectively, and "a very cold west wind" indicated that these wanderers were truly in need of shelter and McIntire did what he could for them.⁵⁵

Infectious illnesses seem to spread more widely in winter, then and now, and McIntire noted local, national, and international maladies in the winter months in his newspaper. Smallpox was of particular concern. He reported on such outbreaks in

Richmond, Virginia; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and as far away as Sydney, Australia.⁵⁶

The disease was greatly feared at the time, as evidenced by this item McIntire published in the *Commercial* on January 19, 1882: “John Johnson, a Randolph County (Indiana) farmer, received an anonymous letter from Cincinnati containing two smallpox scabs, and an invitation to take the disease and die. The advent of the two scabs threw the whole neighborhood into great terror.”⁵⁷

As a journalist and physician, McIntire advocated early immunization for smallpox, an inoculation that was generally available at the time, and he even included the suggestion “that a pinch of powdered sulphur [be] put in the foot of each stocking whenever they are changed” as a “most effective preventive against the contraction of very nearly all contagious diseases.”⁵⁸ This admonition came from a regularly appearing section in his paper called “The Family Doctor,” which offered home remedies for the most common ills of the day, such as cures for a cough, chapped hands, warts, dandruff, and cold in the eye.⁵⁹

Another communicable disease that held sway in the winter months was measles, and it garnered a number of mentions in McIntire’s paper over several weeks: “Quite a number of children have measles in town,” “Measles breakout in town,” and “Measles still prevail to a large extent in town.”⁶⁰ He resorted to humor to describe the effect of measles in two neighboring towns: “Our Bedford itemizer failed this week. Fact is, she has the measles, several of them,” and “The Brownstown *Banner* has about four columns of legal advertisements. The town has measles, scarlet fever, a new brass band, pneumonia, a landscape painter, and numerous other afflictions.”⁶¹

McIntire also announced specific indispositions of leading citizens. In 1881 he wrote in the *Commercial*, “Dr. Yost has a sore throat. Dr. Isom Burton has a boil on his

neck.”⁶² He followed up a week later with an update: “Dr. Isom Burton’s boil is better, he had ’em bad.”⁶³ There was no further commentary on the condition of Dr. Yost’s gullet, but this epilogue on Dr. Burton’s woes appeared a month later: “Doc Isom Burton, speaking in a manner of painful reality, declares that the best place for a boil is in the tea kettle.”⁶⁴ In egalitarian spirit, the editor of the *Commercial* shielded neither himself nor his family from notoriety when illness struck the McIntire home. “Your correspondent has had the sore eyes since November 19,” he wrote in 1882, and in a section entitled “The Sick Folks,” he reported that “the editor’s least boy, Johnnie, has measles, and is a pretty sick boy.”⁶⁵

McIntire’s diary during the winter months was also punctuated with mentions of his family’s aches and pains. Over a three-week period in 1871 he described an episode where two of his children, five-year-old Lucy and two-year-old Charles, had mumps:

- January 21: Got home at 8, found Lucy and Charley both with Mumps or some such inflammation.
- January 22: Was at home all day the children are very badly afflicted, so fretful that we did not get to sleep much.
- January 23: I am doing nothing. Will have to stay at home on account of our children being sick.
- January 25: Our children are no better we hardly slept any last night.
- January 26: I get no rest as our children are yet so unwell there are evidences of inflammation in the Paroted [*sic*] and Submaxillary glands.
- January 29: Our children no better. No rest at night for us.
- February 4: Charley is no better, no rest at home during the night.
- February 5: Dr. Trush lanced Charley's face.
- February 6: Charley is some better.
- February 12: Our children are well.

McIntire's wife Margaret also received a handful of mentions in his diary when she was ill: "Wife suffering with vertigo, we got Mrs. Parrot to come and work," "Mrs. M. got hurt by a cow working her over this morning and is right badly off," and "Wife was sick, so we sent for Mrs. Parrot to wait on us."⁶⁶

One would expect news close to home and worldwide to be featured in the *Mitchell Commercial* during McIntire's stint as editor, but it also found its way into the pages of this diary during all months of the year. Some examples from the winter months merit some attention here. Long before the term "news junkie" entered our modern vernacular, McIntire was one. As a journalist he had to understand the needs of his readers and provide them the information that would meet those needs. One way to do that was to keep abreast of the pressing political and economic issues of the day and then to relay that information and provide his own interpretations in his paper through news items, commentary, agricultural and health tips, advertisements, and even railroad timetables. And long after he passed his editorial pen to another in 1883, he still needed his daily fix. He subscribed to the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* from 1875 until his death in 1899, and he would either go personally on Sundays or send one of his sons to the depot of the Ohio & Mississippi railway, which ran east-west between St. Louis and Cincinnati, to pick up the latest edition.⁶⁷

Many times McIntire mentioned in his diary not getting the *Globe-Democrat* on a particular day.⁶⁸ This 1896 example, "I failed to get the 'Globe-Democrat' and am lost for news," suggests how important his daily paper was to him in his later years, which might have been a holdover from his newspaper days.⁶⁹ His appetite for news during his invalid period appears consistent with the need to be an informed citizen as he kept pace with politics on many levels, from national to local issues and elections.⁷⁰ In contrast,

during his time at the helm of the *Commercial*, he needed to fill its pages with content, just as his contemporaries did, and one tool he used was to draw from papers like the *Globe-Democrat* and his newspaper exchanges to sprinkle regional, national, and international news into his columns.⁷¹ McIntire occasionally mentioned subscriptions to other papers in his diary, but the *Globe-Democrat* was mentioned most prominently (51 times), and it is probable that most of the national and worldwide news items he wrote about in his private record came from this source.

McIntire's military background perhaps made him more sensitive to stories about armed conflict, such as "There is good prospects of war with Chili [*sic*]," which referred to an incident in October 1891 where two American sailors were killed in a brawl while on shore leave in Valparaiso, Chile. The affair was resolved diplomatically, explained McIntire: "The Chilian [*sic*] government has promised ample reparations and the war cloud has blown over."⁷² While that confrontation never materialized, developments in another Latin-American country were not as amicable. McIntire wrote in early 1898, "There came a report to-day that the battle ship, Maine, was blown up at Havana." A few days later he cautioned, "The newspapers are full of war talk with Spain, the cloud is really dark." The "cloud" became a full-blown storm when Spain declared war on the United States on April 24, and Congress returned the favor the next day.⁷³

McIntire rarely mixed editorial with news items in his diary, opting to generally reserve his criticism of others for the *Commercial*. However, his assessment of a talk he attended in St. Louis indicated that he was not impressed with the speaker's refutation of Darwin's theory of evolution. "A lecture by Prof. Pepper on the subject 'Man or Monkey' was not famous or brilliant," he wrote.⁷⁴ Pepper was considered an expert on Darwinism.⁷⁵ McIntire was much less charitable in his view of outgoing members of the

House of Representatives: “Our more than useless Congress ends today at noon.”⁷⁶ His appetite for news appeared to extend far beyond culture and politics to all quarters except for sporting events. “I read everything in the daily,” he wrote, “except prize fights and base ball.”⁷⁷

Local items also made the pages of McIntire’s diaries. Many of these recorded the deaths of Mitchell citizens. Such tidbits likely came to him because of his professional roles as editor or physician. The only others in town who might have had equal access to such fresh news were the town marshal or his deputies. In February 1878, he wrote, “Found Frankie Boynton dead this morning.” McIntire had made a house call the day before to see Boynton for a case of meningitis, and the poor boy had not survived the night.⁷⁸ He went to see Mrs. Leach, who lived on an adjoining farm, for “bilious fever,” stating that “it is not my intention to do any practice, but can’t refuse to call on any of our near neighbors.”⁷⁹ The following month McIntire was back to see her husband, Rollin Leach, for pneumonia. After doing all he could for him over several visits, the old man refused to take medicine for his condition, and McIntire noted that he “shall not visit him again professionally.” Leach died the next day, and McIntire helped “look after the burial.”⁸⁰

Death and sickness, which seemed most common in the winter months, were not the only local-news items McIntire wrote about in his diary. He chronicled the holy to the hellish, as these instances will illustrate. Two church-related notes from 1878 stated, “Eleven persons were baptized in the pool in the Babtist [*sic*] Church Yard,” and “[I] went out to Johnston’s pond to a negro [*sic*] baptising.”⁸¹ And murder was the talk of the county—and in McIntire’s diary—in 1878 and 1892, respectively: “Excitement is high about the killing of Bradford. . . . Carson Hughes and Jeram Broughton were arrested for

killing him and sent to jail,” and “The trial of Finley for the murder of Mrs. Neideffer comes up in the court at Bedford to-day. A great many people went over from here.”⁸²

Winter-Season Experiences That Portended McIntire’s Journalism

A cultural biography offers more than a series of events in the life of its subject. It also mines the experiences and states of mind that might account for “how action made sense from the standpoint of historical actors.”⁸³ There were two elements of McIntire’s winter period that appear to have shaped McIntire in his later life as a journalist. One of these was his upbringing on farms in both Ohio and Indiana. He was intimately acquainted with the rigors of a bucolic existence, and his newspaper showed signs of that understanding. As editor and proprietor of the *Mitchell Commercial*, McIntire could determine what to report, and that included agriculture-related concerns. He often included a section called “Farm Notes” on the front or back pages of the *Commercial*, which offered items such as farm news from around the nation, how to make animal feed, the way to correctly count the rings on a tree to determine its age, and how many farms there were in the United States, according to the U.S. Census.⁸⁴ McIntire also touted the Republicans as “the best party for the manufacturer, the farmer, and the tradesman,” which suggested that he not only used his paper to inform farmers about their work but also stated which political faction could best advocate for their needs.⁸⁵

The realities of farm life in the mid-19th century also included dealing with death on a regular basis, a second experience that likely affected McIntire’s reporting style.⁸⁶ Farmers lost animals and family members alike, but their workloads obliged them to not dwell for long on such losses. McIntire lost three siblings—Maria, Esau, and Albert—

while he was in his teens and early 20s, but he never mentioned them in his surviving diaries.⁸⁷ McIntire also appeared aloof when noting the deaths of farm animals in his diary, offering only that “our two-year-old colt died this morning” and “two of our lambs froze to death to-day.”⁸⁸

In the *Commercial* McIntire tended to report local deaths in the same facts-only manner. The March 23, 1882, edition reported that a young wife died “after a long illness,” Samuel King “was killed by a falling limb,” and “M. A. Burton’s little daughter Mable is still living but cannot live much longer.”⁸⁹ He even maintained an evenhanded tone when reporting the death of his mother, Isabel Dailey McIntire, in the *Commercial* in 1881. Aside from noting that she was “the Mother of the editor of this paper,” he listed her birth, marriage, and death dates, religious affiliation, and added that “her mental faculties remained bright till her last hour.”⁹⁰ In contrast to editor William Allen White’s tender tribute to his 17-year-old daughter Mary, who died in a horse-riding accident, there was no identifiable expression of emotion or loss in McIntire’s mother’s obituary, which suggests that his formative experiences with death might have affected his ability or his willingness to show feeling as he reported the “family affliction, which men only once in a lifetime are called on to endure.”⁹¹

The foregoing are just a few examples of salient events that occurred during McIntire’s life and how he recorded them in both his private record and public newspaper, which give texture to the seasonal ritual of winter that describes his life through his late teens. Having shown how McIntire “gather[ed] vigor for the coming year” during his metaphorical “winter months” from birth to adolescence, the story now considers the period of his late teens to his early thirties as the springtime of his life.⁹²

Notes from Chapter 4

¹ ESM, March 17, 1876.

² ESM, January 13, 1898.

³ *Arthur's Home Magazine*, Vol. 53 (Philadelphia: T. S. Arthur & Sons, 1885), 716. In some versions of the poem, the word "Is" in the third line is rendered as "In." See also Patrick Murdoch, ed., *The Seasons, by James Thomson, with a Sketch of His Life*, (London: Thomas Kelly, 1819), 241, accessed November 3, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=HgtgAAAACAAJ>.

⁴ See birth and marriage records for Charles McIntire and Isabel Daily at <https://familysearch.org/tree/person/K8NS-DGY/details>, accessed on February 21, 2017.

⁵ James Webb. *Born Fighting: How the Scots-Irish Shaped America* (New York: Broadway Books, 2004), 9–10.

⁶ "1830s Fast Facts: The 1830 Census, accessed March 25, 2016, https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/1830_fast_facts.html.

⁷ William Jay Jacobs, Howard B. Wilder, Robert P. Ludlum, and Harriet McCune Brown, *America's Story* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990), 292.

⁸ "Jacksonian Democracy and Modern America," accessed March 25, 2016, <http://www.ushistory.org/us/23f.asp>.

⁹ Jacobs, et al., *America's Story*, 295–297.

¹⁰ In his diaries, McIntire mentioned "Indian Summer" three times (ESM, September 9, September 23, and October 3, 1871); looking for "Indian relics," finding pieces of pottery and an arrowhead (ESM, October 27, 1878); and the end of the "Indian war," referring to the Ghost Dance War between the U.S. Army and the Lakota Sioux, that began with the massacre of 300 Sioux at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, on December 29, 1890 (ESM, January 13, 1891). In surviving editions of his newspaper, he mentioned "Indians" in connection with four reprinted articles: the Natives' love for their children and the nobility of their character (*Mitchel Commercial*, March 16, 1882, 1, 4); how the "Indians" conduct censuses in Nevada (*Mitchel Commercial*, April 7, 1881, 1); and how a "roving band of Indians" was killing U.S. miners in Sonora, Mexico (*Mitchel Commercial*, January 5, 1882, 1).

¹¹ "U.S. Censuses for 1830 and 1840," accessed March 25, 2016, <https://www.census.gov/dmd/www/resapport/states/ohio.pdf>.

¹² *History of Washington County, Ohio* (Cleveland, OH: H. Z. Williams & Bro., 1881), 99–100.

¹³ Land-patent certificate no. 285 of Charles McIntire, 1821, from BLM database online; Land-patent certificate no. 286 of Charles McIntire, 1821, from BLM database online; Land-patent certificate no. 284 of Charles McIntire, assignee of George Freemyer, 1827; all accessed March 19, 2016, <http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/search/default.aspx>.

¹⁴ Based on observations from the researcher's personal visit to the farm location on March 18, 2016.

¹⁵ Neil Grant, *Scottish Clans and Tartans* (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2000), 171; Rennie McOwan, *The MacIntyres: The Origins of the Clan MacIntyre and Their Place in Scotland's History* (Glasgow, Scotland: Lang Syne Publishers, 1997), 2, 17.

¹⁶ *Combined History of Monroe County Ohio* (Chicago: H. H. Hardesty & Co., 1882), 213, accessed March 25, 2016, http://www.ohiogenealogyexpress.com/monroe/monroeco_hist1882/monroeco_hist1882_twp_seneca.html.

¹⁷ Sylvia D. Hoffert, "Childbearing on the Trans-Mississippi Frontier, 1830–1900," *Western Historical Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (August 1991): 278.

¹⁸ The straight-line distance between Rinard Mills, Ohio, and Mitchell, Indiana, accessed March 1, 2016, www.mapdevelopers.com.

¹⁹ "History of the National Weather Service," accessed March 1, 2016, <http://www.weather.gov/timeline>.

²⁰ "Historic Average: Rinard Mills, Ohio," accessed March 1, 2016, <http://www.intellicast.com/Local/History.aspx?location=USOH9544>.

²¹ Ibid.

²² McIntire mentioned the weather in 1,954 in his 3,007 diary entries, or 65 percent of the time. The topic mentioned most frequently after the weather was his health, which he addressed 1,035 times, which figured in 34 percent of his entries.

²³ ESM, January 9, 1896.

²⁴ See ESM, January 9, 1891, and January 9, 1898.

²⁵ There is a city called Grandview Heights in Ohio, but it is near Columbus, about 150 miles west of Rinard Mills.

²⁶ *Eminent and Self-Made Men*, 1:24; *History of Lawrence and Orange*, 297.

²⁷ *Caldwell's Atlas of Monroe County, Ohio* (Mount Vernon, OH: Atlas Publishing Company, 1898), 128–129, and *Atlas of Washington County, Ohio* (Philadelphia: Titus, Simmons & Titus, 1875), 19, show the McIntire farm in Monroe County, but William D. Emerson's Washington County, Ohio, atlas of 1845 places the same farm clearly in Ludlow Township, Washington County, Ohio.

²⁸ See Ludlow Township, Washington County, Ohio, censuses of 1827 and 1831; U.S. Census, 1840, Ludlow Township, Washington County, Ohio, 362–363.

²⁹ I acknowledge the discrepancy between a 2017 understanding of the location of the McIntire farm and that of his ancestors and defer to the accounts of those who were born on and lived at the farm. What is clear, then and now, is that Washington entered into the equation somewhere in the details of Elihu McIntire's birthplace, but no living person knows for sure which Washington it was—township or county.

³⁰ See ESM, January 9, 1891; January 9, 1896; and January 9, 1898. In the 1891 entry he wrote that he was in his "seventh year" when they moved to Indiana, and in the 1896 entry he stated that the family moved "in 1839." The 1898 entry lists 1837 as the year they moved, but he may have confused the 7 with being in his seventh year. The land deed for Charles McIntire's land purchase in Spencer County, Indiana, is also dated in 1839, and the two biographical sketches in 1880 and 1884 also have 1839 as the year the family moved. See *Eminent and Self-made Men*, 1:24, and *History of Lawrence and Orange*, 297.

³¹ Isabelle McIntire Robbins's genealogical record indicates that she was born on May 16, 1839, in Spencer County, Indiana. See <https://familysearch.org/tree/person/K41Q-SKJ/details>, accessed October 29, 2016.

³² See ESM, January 9, 1891; January 9, 1896; and January 9, 1898.

³³ Archer Butler Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America, Volume 10: The Cumberland Road* (Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark, 1904), 25, 54.

³⁴ 1840 National Pike Map (Washington, DC: Department of Commerce, 1840), accessed November 3, 2016, <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/publications/publicroads/06nov/images/wein3.jpg>,

³⁵ Hulbert, *Historic Highways*, 79, accessed November 3, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=v2cRAAAAYAAJ>. Hulbert's map of the National Road was compared to the maps of Ohio and Indiana in *Rand McNally's Road Atlas 2015* (Chicago: Rand-McNally, 2015), 36–37, 80–81. Mileage calculations and comparison of the original route to 2016 highways were drawn from the Rand-McNally road atlas cited herein.

³⁶ Charles Fenno Hoffman, *A Winter in the West: By a New-Yorker* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835) 1:42–46. See also “The National Road,” accessed April 2, 2016, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~gentutor/National.pdf>.

³⁷ William Vipond Pooley, *The Settlement of Illinois from 1830 to 1850* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1908), 368; *Mississippi River Navigation*, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Lower Mississippi Valley Division, 4, accessed November 3, 2016, <http://www.mvn.usace.army.mil/Portals/56/docs/PAO/Brochures/Navigation.pdf>. According to the pamphlet, a steamboat in 1838 could make the 1,200-mile journey from Louisville, Kentucky, to New Orleans in six days. The distance from Marietta, Ohio, to Rockport, Indiana, via the Ohio River is 575 miles, which could conceivably be covered in half the time.

³⁸ A number of watercraft for such a river trip were available in 1839. Steamships had been in use on the Ohio since 1811 when the first one transited the Ohio River from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, stopped at Louisville, Kentucky, due to low water on the river, and put in at Spencer County, Indiana, for a supply of coal to fire the boiler on ship. Barges and flatboats were already seen frequently on the Ohio, as were “house boats” and “store boats”—all of which could have been engaged to transport passengers and cargo along the river at that time. See *Grandview Monitor*, October 27, 1935.

³⁹ Guy Stevens Callender, *Selections from the Economic History of the United States, 1765–1860* (Boston: Ginn, 1909), 363, as cited in John Edward Heller, “A History of Ohio River Trade at Louisville from Its Beginning until 1840,” PhD diss., University of Louisville, 1922), 29, accessed November 3, 2016, <http://ir.library.louisville.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1602&context=etd>.

⁴⁰ The undated account, typewritten on onionskin paper by an unnamed author, was among the papers accompanying McIntire's diaries given by Margaret McIntire Rimstidt and Beulah Francis McIntire Ruch to the researcher's grandparents in 1968 and passed on to the researcher's parents in 1971. The account gives a brief history of the parents of both Elihu S. McIntire and Margaret Bowers McIntire and includes a mention of “Uncle Clayton,” which refers to Clayton Bowers, brother of Margaret Bowers McIntire. This suggests that one of Elihu and Margaret's children wrote or dictated the account, and because it was in possession of Margaret McIntire Rimstidt and Beulah Francis McIntire Ruch, daughters of John Bowers McIntire, prior to being given to the researcher's family, it is most likely that John Bowers McIntire was the author.

⁴¹ ESM, January 9, 1898, italics added.

⁴² See Federal land deeds, nos. 24,119; 24,120; 18,857; and 23,752; General Land Office, Vincennes, Indiana, all dated August 1, 1839.

⁴³ In the nine references to his sister Isabel, McIntire referred to her in her diary as “Belle.” See, for example, ESM, May 1, 1878; February 20, 1892; and January 1, 1898. The fact that Belle’s birthplace was Spencer County and not Rockport implies that the family had already begun homesteading on their farm before the deal was official, which, as previously stated, was common practice for settlers to live on a place before they bought it.

⁴⁴ Based on observations during the researcher’s visit to the location of the Charles McIntire farm in Spencer County, Indiana, on March 15, 2016.

⁴⁵ *History of Warrick, Spencer, and Perry Counties, Indiana* (Chicago: Goodspeed Bros. & Co., 1885), 528.

⁴⁶ An 1880 biographical sketch of Elihu S. McIntire stated that he “attend[ed] the schools of Spencer County whenever possible.” See *Eminent and Self-made Men*, 1:24; *History of Warrick*, 374, 428, 431. Maria McIntire, Elihu’s sister, died on October 31, 1843, accessed November 3, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/tree/person/KH95-NBD/details>. Along with 15 other soldiers, Esau McIntire’s name appeared on a casualty list for Company E, Fourth Regiment, Indiana Volunteers, in the Rockport *Planter*, April 8, 1848, accessed April 8, 2016, <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=jameslynch&id=I5396>. Esau’s military-service information was noted on a deed for a 160-acre land tract purchased by Charles McIntire in Warrick County, Indiana, as his father and heir. An act of Congress of February 11, 1847, stipulated that those who served in the Mexican War could receive 160 acres of land from the federal government upon expiration of their term of military service. Apparently, Charles McIntire claimed this land as Esau’s father and lawful heir.

⁴⁷ A Yale University study found, using human rhinovirus (common cold) as an example, that viruses replicate more quickly in the cool temperatures of the nasal cavity (33–35°C) than in the warmer, core-body temperature of the lungs (37°C), which supports the conventional wisdom that disease spreads more frequently and rapidly during the cold winter months. See Ellen F. Foxman, James A. Storer, Megan E. Fitzgerald, Behany R. Wasik, Lin Hou, Hongyu Zhao, Paul E. Turner, Anna Marie Pyle, and Akiko Iwasaki, “Temperature-dependent Innate Defense against the Common-cold Virus Limits Viral Replication at Warm Temperature in Mouse Airway Cells,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences in the United States of America* 112, no. 3 (January 20, 2015): 827–832, accessed November 12, 2016, <http://www.pnas.org/content/112/3/827.full.pdf>.

⁴⁸ ESM, January 25, 1884; February 1, 1876; and *Mitchel Commercial*, December 30, 1880, 3.

⁴⁹ ESM, March 4, 1891.

⁵⁰ ESM, March 6, 1895; February 12, 1895.

⁵¹ *Mitchel Commercial*, March 23, 1882, 3; March 2, 1882, 1; February 17, 1881, 2.

⁵² ESM, January 27, 1871.

⁵³ ESM, January 8, 1876; February 22, 1888.

⁵⁴ ESM, March 13, 1891.

⁵⁵ ESM, March 14–15, 1891.

⁵⁶ *Mitchel Commercial*, January 5, 1882, 1; January 26, 1882, 1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, January 19, 1882, 1.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, February 2, 1882, 4.

- ⁵⁹ Ibid., January 5, 1882, 4; February 2, 1882, 4; February 16, 1882, 4; March 23, 1882, 4.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid., January 20, 1881, 3; February 3, 1881, 2; March 17, 1881, 3.
- ⁶¹ Ibid., February 24, 1881, 2; March 10, 1881, 2.
- ⁶² Ibid., January 20, 1881, 2.
- ⁶³ Ibid., January 27, 1881, 2.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid., February 24, 1881, 3.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., January 19, 1882, 3; March 10, 1881, 3.
- ⁶⁶ ESM, January 27, 1899; February 9, 1891; and March 5, 1896.
- ⁶⁷ For examples, see ESM, February 15, 1891; February 7, 1892; November 20, 1892.
- ⁶⁸ For examples, see ESM, February 28, 1891; January 10, 1892; and May 18, 1895.
- ⁶⁹ ESM, January 14, 1896.
- ⁷⁰ For examples, see ESM, March 8 and 28, 1892; March 7, 1896; and January 22 and November 9, 1898.
- ⁷¹ See Lyon, *Pioneer Editor*, 141–145, for examples of the content that country editors placed into their papers to include national news, legislative proceedings, the latest in the arts and sciences, poetry and humor, agriculture and commerce, election results, historical and biographical sketches, and births, deaths, and marriages; all of which McIntire included in the *Commercial*. See Cloud, *Business of Newspapers*, 122–124, for a discussion on how editors used exchanges to populate their papers with news. See W. David Sloan and Lisa Mullikin Parcell, eds., *American Journalism: History, Principles, Practices* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2002), 139, accessed December 20, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=JOItkXKZ-3EC>. This source contains information on how boilerplates provided content for country editors after the Civil War.
- ⁷² ESM, January 17 and 26, 1892; *The New York Times*, January 30, 1892, accessed April 6, 2016, <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9A0DE1D81738E233A25753C3A9679C94639ED7CF>.
- ⁷³ ESM, February 16, 1898; February 26, 1898; Jacobs, et al, *America's Story*, 555.
- ⁷⁴ ESM, January 23, 1876.
- ⁷⁵ In his 1876 diary McIntire included an undated newspaper clipping from a St. Louis paper with a description of the lecture. See Reuben Hackett, ed., *Selected Sketches of Science, Art, and Literature* (Ottawa, KS, 1876), 84–91, for a more detailed summary of Pepper's lecture.
- ⁷⁶ ESM, March 4, 1895.
- ⁷⁷ ESM, January 20, 1888.
- ⁷⁸ ESM, February 1–2, 1878.
- ⁷⁹ ESM, February 7, 1888.
- ⁸⁰ ESM, March 11–16, 1888.
- ⁸¹ ESM, February 24, 1878; March 17, 1878.
- ⁸² ESM, February 23, 1878; January 28, 1892.
- ⁸³ Carey, "Journalism History," 4.
- ⁸⁴ See, for example, *Mitchel Commercial*, January 6, 1881, 1; January 5, 1882, 2; January 19, 1882, 4; and October 19, 1882, 2.
- ⁸⁵ *Mitchel Commercial*, January 27, 1881, 2.
- ⁸⁶ For a discussion about McIntire's personal feelings about death, as elaborated his diary, see the Fall chapter of this dissertation.

⁸⁷ For birth and death dates of Maria, Esau, and Albert, see “Charles McIntire,” accessed January 19, 2017, http://www.ancestry.ca/genealogy/records/charles-mcintire_52646245?geo_a=r&geo_s=ca&geo_t=ca&geo_v=2.0.0&o_iid=41016&o_lid=41016&o_sch=Web+Property.

⁸⁸ ESM, July 7, 1891; March 10, 1892

⁸⁹ *Mitchel Commercial*, March 23, 1882, 3.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, October 20, 1881, 2.

⁹¹ *Emporia (KN) Gazette*, May 17, 1921, 2; *Mitchel Commercial*, December 1, 1881, 2.

⁹² *Arthur's Home Magazine*, 716.

CHAPTER FIVE

SPRING

*A time to plant . . . a time to love, and a time to hate . . .
a time of war . . . a time to mourn . . . a time to die.*

— Ecclesiastes 3:2, 4, 8

*1871: This was a fine Spring day clear and pleasant though not much warm.*¹

*1876: This was a very pleasant and a spring like day,
I was busy in the office all day.*²

*1891: I saw the first lightning bugs this evening.*³

*1892: In afternoon I sat in the yard with my feet in the sunshine, and read the papers.*⁴

*1898: I always dread the month of May. It is always the worst month
on old invalids, I did not expect to live to see this 31st day, but I am here yet,
even better than usual, suffer but little acute pain.*⁵

Just as the hours of one's life give way to days, weeks, and months, winter ultimately rolls to spring. Recall Scottish poet James Thomson, who again captured the turning of the seasons:

The deep-fermenting tempest brew'd
In the grim evening-sky. Thus pass'd the time,
Till through the lucid chambers of the south
Look'd out the joyous Spring—look'd out and smil'd.⁶

McIntire felt the sprinkle of a number of spring showers during this period of his life, which not only helped him come of age, but also helped shape his subsequent journalism.

The specifics of what these experiences reveal about the “cultural act” of his editorial work will be considered at the end of this chapter.⁷

Farm Work, Teaching, Apprenticeship

As Elihu McIntire was “raised up to all kinds of farm work,” it is reasonable to conclude that he spent most of his younger years living and working on his family’s farms in Ohio and Indiana.⁸ Perhaps more so than at any other time of year, the loss of his brother Esau in 1846 in the Mexican War might have been felt in the springtime on their Indiana farm. The labor-intensive repairing of equipment and fences, plowing, planting, cleaning pens and caring for newborn animals would have fallen to 50-year-old Charles and Jehu, Elihu, and Albert, who were 16, 14, and 11, respectively.

When not needed on the farm, McIntire and his siblings likely attended a subscription school, where parents with children would pool their financial resources to hire a teacher to instruct the young ones in a nearby schoolhouse that often tripled as a classroom, polling place, and church. Tax-supported schools were not instituted in Indiana until the 1850s, so farmers bore the individual cost of educating their children.⁹

McIntire would benefit directly from this arrangement, first as a student and later as a teacher. After completing his basic schooling he committed himself to complementary careers that in one swift stroke would take him away from farm life for the next four decades and also set him on a course to one day become a physician. Near the end of his life he recalled these parallel paths in his diary: “[I] taught my first school in Perry County in 1851. During the next four years I was a student of Medicine in the Office of Drs. Crooks & DeBruler, of Rockport, and taught a session of school each year to pay my way.”¹⁰

This was the only mention of these two landmark decisions in all of McIntire's diaries; however, the far-reaching implications of these statements illustrate the principle that "great doors turn upon small hinges."¹¹ It is not known which of these careers he decided to pursue first, but since McIntire indicated that teaching a session of school helped "pay [his] way," medicine was probably his professional goal, and working as an educator was the means to that end, just as other would-be physicians had taken this route to their medical degrees.¹²

It is also unclear what the exact timing of these events was for McIntire during this period, as well as the precise years when they took place. It is possible that 45 years later he was slightly off in his 1896 diary recollection that he began teaching in 1851 and spent "the next four years" as a medical apprentice in Rockport, given the dates when he later left for medical school, completed his studies, and began practicing as a physician.¹³ An 1885 history of Warrick, Spencer, and Perry Counties reported that "Elihu McIntire and Thomas Niles were sent as students to the State University in 1853."¹⁴ If this "State University" was referring to the medical school in Iowa that he attended, then McIntire could have begun his medical apprenticeship and schoolteaching as early as 1849, taught school and shadowed local physicians for four years, and then begun his formal studies in 1853, as the 1885 history stated.

The decision to teach school in neighboring Perry County required McIntire to leave home because the family farm in Grass Township, Spencer County, being in the western end of the county, was about 25 miles from the Perry County line. At that distance, a daily commute between home and work would not have been feasible. Most likely, in keeping with tradition of the time, McIntire boarded with a local family in Perry

County, living as comfortably—or otherwise—as his host family did, and could have returned home on the weekends.¹⁵

McIntire's wages were probably around 15 dollars a month, more than a female teacher would have been paid, and which was the equivalent to the pay of a hired farmhand who also received room and board. One local history mused that “only the bare necessities of life could be met by the teacher's ‘wages.’”¹⁶ At that time the school year might have been as short as three months, which would have allowed McIntire to teach school each year, as well as apprentice with local physicians close to home when he was not teaching.¹⁷

Even if McIntire's absences from the farm were brief while he was away at school, his help would have been missed on the farm by his father and his brothers Jehu and Albert, now 20 and 16, respectively, as reflected in the 1850 census.¹⁸ His sister Dorcas was not listed on that census because she had left home to marry William Davis in 1849, but 18-year-old Elihu was also listed as residing with the family on that census, taken on September 12 of that year, so it is probable that school did not start until after the fall harvest.¹⁹

Schools in Perry County were probably similar to the one(s) McIntire would have attended in Spencer County. The one-room-schoolhouse system was extensive throughout Perry County during those years and even persisted long after most other Indiana counties had consolidated into larger schools that covered wider geographic areas.²⁰ In that classroom McIntire would have found students from age six to their early twenties, both girls and boys, who had varied abilities and temperaments, and who attended intermittently due to the demands of the farms on which they lived.²¹

If any letters passed between McIntire and his parents while he was away, they would have had to stop at the post office when they were in town to inquire about mail. At that time unclaimed letters were announced in the newspaper with a warning that they would be sent to the dead-letter office if not picked up by addressees by a certain date. Charles McIntire had one such reminder appear in the local weekly in 1848, as did Elihu McIntire himself in 1855.²²

Regarding his medical career, one of the audible silences in McIntire's personal record is how he arrived at the decision to become a physician and to work as a teacher to pay his way in the meantime. Captain Crooks, the commander of McIntire's brother Esau's company in the Mexican War, was the same John W. Crooks to whom Elihu was apprenticed in Rockport before he left for medical school, so Crooks was acquainted with the family.²³ Whether McIntire developed an interest in medicine on his own or had the idea suggested to him by his parents or someone in the profession, he was committed enough to the idea to use teaching as a way to finance his apprenticeship in Rockport and subsequently his studies at medical school.

At the time that Elihu McIntire began his medical training, the profession in the United States was in transition. Prior to the mid-19th century, medical schools were few, and most aspiring doctors sought a paid apprenticeship with a practicing physician—with the *apprentice* doing the paying and not the other way around.²⁴ This mentor-practitioner, known as a preceptor, when satisfied with the knowledge and performance of the pupil, provided a letter of certification that served as the new physician's credential to practice medicine. On the plus side, apprenticeship did offer “a crude prototype of clinical training” and was a valuable way to learn to treat patients, but the downside was that “its subjective authority resided with the preceptor,” and anyone unfamiliar with the master

physician could not with confidence engage the services of his understudy.²⁵ By 1850, there were 36 medical schools in the United States, and in the years that followed, these institutions began to replace the apprentice system.²⁶ As one medical-education system gave way to another, students such as McIntire first found themselves as apprentices to local doctors and then as medical students in a college or university program.²⁷

Often the quality of instruction in a medical apprenticeship depended on the experience and ability of the training physician(s). In McIntire's case, his preceptors enjoyed what appeared to be solid reputations as citizens and practitioners. James P. DeBruler and John W. Crooks were well-respected members of the Rockport community. For example, as previously mentioned, Crooks captained a company of soldiers from Spencer County that served in the Mexican War, and in the rank of colonel he later led the Spencer County Legion in the defense of Rockport during the Civil War. He was chairman of the local medical society, and he and DeBruler together were trustees of the town of Rockport, were members of the Rockport Philosophical Society, and were among major stockholders in the Bank of Rockport.²⁸ As influential as they seemed, however, they also had their financial challenges, as an 1853 newspaper announcement attested:

Drs. DeBruler and Crooks respectfully present their thanks to the community for our unprecedented amount of patronage during the past year. They hope by unremitting attention to business, still to merit a continuation of confidence.

In the meantime, permit us to say to you that our necessities for money at this season are very great, much greater than usual. We expected good collections and made our arrangements accordingly, and should we not succeed we are bound to materially suffer. Now come friends help us out, your amounts are generally small, with these times, any of you can pay your bills. We are confident that most of you will assist us, when we say to you positively that we are greatly in need of money. Most of you are aware of the difficulty in raising a considerable amount of money, from small collections, so remember this and come forward to our relief.²⁹

Their abilities as physicians were also known in the community, as Crooks and DeBruler were both assigned as physicians to see to the medical needs of the local “pauper farm,” where a handful of poor citizens were sent to live and work under the supervision of the state.³⁰

An apprentice’s duties during that period were similar to what a nurse or medical assistant might fulfill at a doctor’s request today. Some of the labor that McIntire might have performed included preparing and compounding medicines, holding down a patient undergoing surgery without anesthesia, hitching the physician’s horse to his buggy, and cleaning the stables.³¹ Reading—and a lot of it—would also have been required for the would-be physician. The course of study assigned by preceptors included popular medical texts of the time such as Bell’s *Anatomy*, Silliman on chemistry, *Gunn’s Domestic Medicine*, Fergusson on surgery, and Magendie on physiology.³²

Over time a seasoned apprentice might be allowed to accompany the doctor for house calls or office consultations and perform bloodletting, open abscesses, dress wounds, and assist with surgeries. Such a training program might cost the aspirant up to 100 dollars a year, and given Crooks’ and DeBruler’s financial straits, they probably would not have trained McIntire for free.³³

Neither McIntire’s record nor other sources offer any specifics beyond his 1896 diary reference to his four years as “a student of Medicine,” so other sources have helped paint this picture of what his apprenticeship might have been like in Crooks’s and DeBruler’s office at the corner of Main and Third Streets in Rockport.³⁴ There is also no historical evidence of how McIntire arrived at the decision of where to go to medical school. He made but a passing mention of it in his 1896 diary: “Attended Medical College in Keokuk, Iowa.”³⁵

Medical School

Assuming McIntire began his formal medical studies circa 1853, he had 11 options for medical school within a 400-mile radius of Spencer County.³⁶ Why McIntire chose Keokuk, the most remote location, over the other 10 schools available to him in the western and central Ohio Valley, is not known. Established in 1850, the medical college in Keokuk was too new to have been the school where his preceptors were trained.

Beyond location, other considerations in his decision to attend medical school certainly included the cost, given the indigent circumstances of McIntire and his family. Limited financial resources would have kept McIntire closer to home. Many medical schools of the period were launched by a small faculty of physicians, who, with access to a classroom and a dissection room, could easily meet their expenses and pocket profits from fees students paid directly to them, even while charging much less than more prestigious schools. Such start-ups also established direct affiliations with colleges to legitimize the conferral of degrees, and as medical-school-trained physicians began to outnumber apprentice-turned-practitioners, the M.D. degree became the professional standard.³⁷

The first classes to be held at the medical college in Keokuk began in November 1850 in the old Market House at Third and Exchange Streets.³⁸ Shortly thereafter, the college moved into a new building at Third and Palean Streets, which was described in a medical journal of the day:

There will be three large lecture rooms, two will seat over 350 persons and one about 250. The building is situated upon a beautiful and commanding eminence and faces the river with a front finished in the finest style of architecture of 100 feet and is 50 feet deep. Attached to the main wings is the University hospital erected and furnished by our generous city.³⁹

This would have been the building where McIntire attended classes, beginning in the fall of 1853.

With Keokuk, Iowa, as his chosen destination, McIntire would have had to make his way there from Spencer County. Like his family's move from Ohio to Indiana, he could have traveled by land or water: overland on the stage, as the railroad was not sufficiently developed in 1853 to be a viable alternative, or by steamboat on the Ohio River from Rockport to Cairo, Illinois, and then north on the Mississippi past St. Louis and on to Keokuk.⁴⁰ With the length of the trip about the same, McIntire most likely opted to travel to Keokuk by boat, given the lower cost and the higher probability of a more comfortable journey.

Arriving in Keokuk, also known as Gate City because of its command of the upper Mississippi, in the fall of 1853, McIntire would have found "neat frame and brick dwellings and commercial buildings built along streets lined with chinaberry and locust trees . . . banks and large department stores and the Keokuk College of Physicians and Surgeons [which] lent a discernable academic flavor to the city."⁴¹ The approximately 3,500 residents lived in a town that had been "surveyed for a grid of streets one mile square," but ravines scattered throughout the city made street travel difficult.⁴² This situation was remedied with the help of Mormon emigrants camped north of the city, preparing to trek west to Utah, who busied themselves in the meantime by grading the rough terrain on Main Streets into "one of the handsomest streets in this or any other country."⁴³ McIntire would have crossed this new-and-improved Main Street at least twice a day on his one-mile trip to and from classes at Third and Palean Streets from and to his quarters on the southeast corner of Fourth and Fulton Streets, where he boarded

with Lee County Sheriff C. B. Turner, most likely at the going rate of two to three dollars per week.⁴⁴

Beginning classes on October 20, 1853, McIntire would have faced the following requirements to obtain a diploma from the college:

First - The candidate must be twenty-one years of age.

Second - He must have attended two courses of medical lecturers; one of which must have been delivered in the medical department of the Iowa State University, or evidence of three years reputable practice, will be regarded as equivalent to one course.

Third - The candidate must have studied medicine for two years under the direction of a respectable medical practitioner.

Fourth - He must write a medical Thesis either in the English, Latin, French or German languages.

Fifth - He must pass an examination satisfactory to the faculty and pay the graduation fee in advance.⁴⁵

McIntire, at 21, and having studied with Drs. Crooks and DeBruler, had already met the first and third requirements, but he had a long road ahead of him to meet the remaining qualifications for his medical degree.

As McIntire left no record about the specifics of his medical-school experience, other sources reveal the essence of student life in Keokuk. An 1859 letter from T. T. Roane to his aunt and uncle described a rigorous 16-week routine each year that included attending six lectures a day, completing assigned readings between lectures, taking part in dissection sessions four nights a week and on Saturdays, and observing operations performed on live patients.⁴⁶

Another Keokuk student who attended from 1858 to 1860, Joshua Speed, described his experience at the medical college in a series of letters to his fiancée Ellen Scripps.⁴⁷ He observed there was a great deal of drinking at the college, done by students

from one state in particular: “There are enough students here from Missouri to whip out all the Whiskey Sellers in Keokuk.” Speed also mentioned the all-day lectures from nine to five and the need to read up on lectures at night. Professors typically quizzed their students, and one poor soul had “practiced for 15 years but c[ould]n’t pass the quizzes.” One thing Speed lamented was that lectures were offered during the week of Christmas, and students made New Year’s calls on the dean of the college, all of which could prevent them from going home for the holidays.⁴⁸

Given the accepted practice of the times, Speed envied fellow students who treated patients between school years and came back with “a horse, good clothes, and plenty of money,” and explained that several used this method to pay for school. He also observed that one benefit of being a physician is that “with a year or two’s practice I will be able to settle where I please.” But first Speed had to complete the required thesis, which professors limited from 20 to 50 pages. And one bit of information that had to make Speed—and by extension, McIntire—feel better was the comment from transfer students that Keokuk was just as good a school as the medical colleges they had come from.⁴⁹

The quality of education medical students received at Keokuk was a function of the quality of the members of the faculty, who brought their individual specialties in surgery, pathology, obstetrics, anatomy, theory, chemistry, “materia medica,” and therapeutics to the table—both figuratively and literally—to instruct their students.⁵⁰ And in addition to dissecting cadavers, to add realism to the training of would-be physicians, the Keokuk medical faculty often conducted surgical demonstrations for students of the college.⁵¹

By 2016 standards, a medical education in the 1850s at a reputable, state-sponsored university in the American Midwest was a bargain. For McIntire's three years in medical school, his education would have cost him about \$330 at the time and \$8,784.42 today. For the 2015–2016 school year, the average medical-school tuition in the U.S. was about \$52,500.⁵²

Classes in Keokuk began about November 1 and continued until late February each year. McIntire's second and third years at the medical college Keokuk were probably similar to his first year, not only in the courses he took, but also where he boarded, the cost of his tuition, the dissections and live demonstrations he attended, and his mode of transportation between Keokuk and his home in Spencer County, Indiana.⁵³ Students' busy schedules with all-day classes Monday through Friday and dissections at night and on Saturdays left little time for leisure. McIntire had the opportunity to attend church services on Sundays at the local Methodist church, and, given his later association with the Royal Arch Masons, he might have attended lodge meetings of the Keokuk chapter, which was organized in 1854.⁵⁴

Returning to school in Keokuk, McIntire would have attended the introductory address given early in the term each year by a faculty member of the college to set the tone for the coming session. It was customary for leading students of the class to formally request a printed copy of the address from the author-presenter. For the 1855–1856 year, "E. S. McIntire, Ind." was second among the nine listed in the document who requested from Dr. John R. Allen, the giver of the speech, the text of his remarks. McIntire's name was one of two that appeared again in Allen's reply to the request.⁵⁵

The presence of McIntire's name in the document just referenced is the only evidence that links him officially to the medical college in Keokuk. No listing of the

graduates nor any account of the graduation ceremony for the class of 1856 has been located, but that he immediately began his practice in Dallas City, Illinois, just 20 miles up the Mississippi from Keokuk, is well documented.⁵⁶ Some accounts, however, maintain that he did not conclude his studies until 1857 or 1858, but McIntire's own diary and his Illinois residency mentioned in a Rockport weekly point to 1856 as his completion date.⁵⁷

McIntire's medical-school training took him far beyond the knowledge and experience he had gained as an apprentice. He certainly acquired the skills he needed to practice his craft, and his involved-citizen persona, honed in the classroom and the laboratory in Keokuk, applied later in his life as a soldier, newspaperman, political operative, Mason, and entrepreneur. His personal magnetism, once described as a "brilliant mind with a vein of wit," not only appeared to serve him among his peers in his growing-up and early-adult years as a teacher, apprentice, and medical student, but it might have attracted the attention of one Margaret Bowers, a young lady his own age who also grew up in Grass Township, Spencer County, Indiana.⁵⁸

Margaret

Margaret Bowers, born on July 16, 1832, in Cincinnati, Hamilton County, Ohio, was the seventh of ten children born to William Bowers and Eleanor Irwin. While nothing is known about William's nor Eleanor's parents and siblings, except that Eleanor's mother, Margaret Irwin, was born in Pennsylvania about 1766, both of them were natives of Ohio and married in about 1821 in Rockport, Spencer County, Indiana.⁵⁹ About the time that Eleanor was carrying their youngest son William, father William purchased four tracts of land in Grass Township, Spencer County, Indiana, in August

1839.⁶⁰ Genealogical records indicate that young William was born in 1840 (exact date unknown) in Ohio, and father William died on September 3, 1840, in Spencer County. Consequently, the family had moved to Indiana sometime between young William's birth and father William's death.⁶¹ Interestingly, the McIntire and Bowers families came to Spencer County within a few months of each other to farms within a few miles of each other, and Margaret and Elihu were both about seven years old at the time their families made the move.

Like her future husband, Margaret would have grown up on the farm. She certainly attended school and church and might have met her future husband Elihu in one of these two places, given the proximity of their farms. However, no one living can conclude with certainty how they became acquainted because Elihu never mentioned their courtship in his writings, no such stories persisted in family lore, nor has any record by Margaret survived to the present day. She does appear in the 1850 U.S. Census for Spencer County, listed as an 18-year-old in the household of her mother Eleanor, age 48; brother Clayton, 24; brother Johnson, 16; brother William, 10; and her grandmother, Margaret Irwin, 84.⁶²

There is no surviving correspondence between Elihu and Margaret during his medical-school years, and the record is also silent on their courtship and engagement. Custom called for a young man to request permission from his intended's parents, so Elihu would likely have approached widowed Eleanor for her daughter's hand. Engagements were lengthy in those days for two reasons: first, to give the bride sufficient time to assemble her trousseau, and second, to ensure that the young man had reliable employment to support his wife and provide a suitable home for her.⁶³ Elihu might have proposed to Margaret prior to his third year of medical school, made plans for after

graduation to set up a practice, find a place to live, and return to Spencer County to marry her. Surviving historical evidence of the wedding suggests that he carried out such a plan on November 12, 1856:

Married, on Wednesday, the 12th inst., by Rev. J. C. King, Miss Margaret Bowers, of this county, and Mr. E. S. McIntire, of Pontoosuc, Illinois.

Accompanying the above notice to the printer, came a certain indication that the happy couple were bound to live in prosperity and happiness for a year, at least, as the lucky man paid for the Advertiser for that time.

May fortune on them ever smile,
And love may all their hours beguile.

And just here we would remind all the young married couple[s], that if they wish to start out in life aright, and be sure of peace and happiness, their best way is to pay for the “Advertiser” immediately, and if it of itself does not secure them in their heart’s desire, they may learn from it how to secure it.⁶⁴

The above notice not only establishes McIntire’s residence in Illinois, just 20 miles upriver from Keokuk and two miles from Dallas City, where several sources confirm that McIntire was a practicing physician, but it also bespeaks his interest in newspapers by his subscribing to the local weekly of his home county, which would have been mailed to him in Illinois.⁶⁵

Early Married Life, Dallas City

Pontoosuc and nearby Dallas City both lie in Hancock County, Illinois.

Pontoosuc, the older of the two, was founded in 1837, while Dallas City was laid out in 1848 and quickly became much larger than its neighbor.⁶⁶ Hancock County history is inextricably tied to Mormon history, as its county seat is Carthage, where a mob rushed the jail in 1844 and shot and killed Mormon prophet Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum, who were being held there. And the county’s largest city in the 1840s was

Nauvoo, where the Mormons settled, built a temple, and were later expelled and moved west.⁶⁷

McIntire, then 27 years old, was listed as a Pontoosuc Township clerk in 1859–1860, but it is not known if that was an elected or appointed position. The clerk, along with a supervisor and assessor, were the three nominal leadership positions in the township. This post was probably McIntire’s first foray into public service, having completed medical school just three years previously, and much of his time would have been devoted to establishing his medical practice. McIntire’s clerkship might also have sparked in him an interest in the process of local government and politics that continued for the remainder of his life.

It is probable that among a population of 1,000 in Pontoosuc McIntire crossed paths with the town’s first and leading physician, Dr. William Abernethy, also known as the “Pioneer Doctor.” Abernethy had taken an “active part in expelling the Mormons from the county” in the 1840s, and sentiment against the Mormons remained strong in Illinois for many years.⁶⁸ Exposure to Abernethy and this situation could account at least partially for McIntire’s penchant for publishing articles critical of the Mormons in his own newspaper years later.⁶⁹

Thus, Elihu and Margaret Bowers McIntire began their life together in the Dallas City area and remained there for about six years—he building and maintaining his practice and she keeping house and caring for the two daughters born to them in Dallas City: Ella in 1858 and Mary in 1860.⁷⁰ With his later interest in politics, it is likely that during those years the slavery question was prominent in McIntire’s mind for at least three reasons: first, Missouri, a slave state, was just a few dozen miles downriver from Dallas City; second, slavery was generally one of the controversial issues of the time; and

third, slavery was the main topic of discussion in the seven well-publicized 1858 debates between U.S. Senate candidates Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas.⁷¹

In addition to the debates they held in cities throughout Illinois, Lincoln and Douglas also gave speeches in surrounding towns to drum up support for their respective campaigns. The seventh and final debate between the two took place on October 15, 1858, in Alton, Illinois.⁷² Lincoln continued to circulate in the state, speaking in Mount Sterling, Rushville, and Carthage in the days following. He arrived in Dallas City on October 23 to give a speech that afternoon.⁷³ An account from the Democratic-leaning, inaptly named *Carthage Republican* the following week picked up the story from there:

There were between two and three thousand persons to hear Mr. Lincoln speak on Saturday afternoon last, and over half the crowd were Democrats.

The Durham boys were out in great force, with their beautiful flag, having on it, "Douglas [*sic*] against the world," and this waved over the stand where Lincoln spoke.

A gentleman in the crowd asked Lincoln how he would vote in case the people of Kansas or Nebraska formed a constitution tolerating slavery, and applied for admission into the Union? Lincoln replied, "Where do you live?" He was again asked the question after he got into his buggy to leave, but he refused to answer.

After Lincoln closed, Mr. Goodrich, from Fort Madison, attempted to reply to some of the points in his speech, but the Republicans and Abolitionists commenced yelling and shouting, and would not let him be heard; they even threatened to pitch him from the stand. . . .

The Democrats have too much self-respect to be guilty of such outrages.⁷⁴

McIntire family lore holds that while in Dallas City, Lincoln crossed paths with Elihu McIntire, his wife Margaret, and young daughter Ella, but no written record of the meeting is extant.

The War, the Muster, the Movement

Lincoln lost to Douglas in the 1858 U.S. Senate race but won a rematch against him in the presidential election two years later. Southern states began to secede in December 1860, even before Lincoln took office, and seven had left the union by the time he was inaugurated on March 4, 1861.⁷⁵ The animosity between North and South finally boiled over just a month into Lincoln's presidency, when Southern troops fired on Fort Sumter, South Carolina, on April 12, 1861, marking the beginning of the War Between the States. Three days later Lincoln called for an emergency session of Congress and requested 75,000 troops from state militias to suppress the rebellion.⁷⁶

Within 45 days of Lincoln's first call for troops, Hancock County mustered Companies D and I for the 16th Illinois Infantry Regiment, with Company I's roster coming primarily from Dallas City.⁷⁷ Hancock County provided additional soldiers to regiments in 1861 to include the 25th, 32nd, and 50th Infantries and the 2nd Cavalry.⁷⁸ What McIntire's willingness or ability to respond to that initial call to fill Company I is unclear. His family or professional circumstances might have prevented him from volunteering at that time.

As the first year of the war dragged on, however, hopes for a quick Union victory did not materialize. A large concentration of Confederate forces at Richmond, Virginia, threatened the national capital in Washington, and on June 30, 1862, Lincoln signed an executive order calling for 150,000 more Union troops.⁷⁹ Again, Illinois responded quickly, and again, citizens of Hancock County came running in the form of supplying companies of soldiers for the 78th, 89th, and 118th Infantry Regiments.⁸⁰

Thirty-year-old Dr. Elihu S. McIntire was among those gathered at the old Stone Church in Dallas City on August 2, 1862, to organize a company that would later be

assigned to the 78th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment. The main purpose of the meeting was to select officers of the new unit. Thirty-seven-year-old Dallas City merchant John Knox Allen was nominated and elected captain by acclamation. A first lieutenant, George T. Beers, was chosen, and McIntire, one of the first five to enlist in the company, was among those nominated for second lieutenant. Samuel Simmons was elected, however, and McIntire took his place as a private in the fledgling company.⁸¹ The newly appointed officers invited the men to Gabhart's beer saloon to thank them for their confidence and to celebrate the organization of the outfit.⁸²

Recruiting for the 100-man unit continued for a week, and then on Sunday, August 10, members of the new unit boarded the *Jenny Whipple* for the 60-mile steamboat trip to Quincy, Illinois, where regiments were assembling to be mustered into federal service.⁸³ A few miles downstream, black-flag-toting, fist-shaking, cursing onlookers on the Missouri side of the river in both Alexandria and Canton taunted the soldier-passengers on the *Jenny Whipple* with shouts of "Hurrah for Jeff Davis!", the president of the Confederacy. Private Edward Robbins wrote of the incident, "I have never had a very favorable opinion of those two towns since."⁸⁴

Beyond taunts and uncertainty, what did lie ahead for McIntire and his fellow soldiers was a same-day arrival in Quincy, an escort to the town square from an already-arrived officer, and lots of confusion.⁸⁵ The crowding was not to be alleviated anytime soon, however. All told, some 3,000 men, comprising the 78th, 84th, and 119th Infantry Regiments, would occupy Quincy at the same time until they received orders to depart.⁸⁶

Eventually a camp was established, company areas assigned, tents erected, construction of barracks commenced, and kitchen and eating utensils issued. Companies were responsible for preparing their own meals, a first for most of the men. "We knew

absolutely nothing about camp life. . . . The first time cooking, we had everything around camp filled with rice,” said a soldier. “It kept swelling beyond what we had any conception of.”⁸⁷ This difficulty proved to be small compared to other impediments and privations they would later endure.

Prior to arriving in Quincy, units had done little other than to recruit sufficient numbers to fill their ranks. Colonel William H. Benneson, an attorney from Quincy, Illinois, and former law partner of Senator Stephen A. Douglas, was appointed commander of the 78th, with Lieutenant Colonel Carter Van Vleck, of Macomb, Illinois, as second in command. Major William L. Broadus, also of Macomb, became the third of three field officers for the regiment.⁸⁸ Other staff officers included George Greene, regimental adjutant, and Dr. Thomas M. Jordan, surgeon, who also hailed from Macomb.⁸⁹

McIntire arrived in Quincy as a private in Captain Allen’s company and with his fellow soldiers would have experienced learning how to set up the conical Sibley tents that accommodated 20 men, provided they each slept with their feet toward the center of the tent, the arrangement resembling a wagon wheel when all were bedded down.⁹⁰ Soldiers were taught to march and respond to voice commands, an activity called “drill,” and they received uniforms and basic equipment to include a bayonet and scabbard, but rifles were not issued until weeks later.⁹¹

On September 1, 1862, the regiment was officially mustered into service, save those who were rejected for whatever reason or who had drifted away in the interim, and each company was assigned its letter designation, drawn out of a hat by blindfolded regimental chaplain Rev. Robert F. Taylor. The unit, commanded by Captain John Knox Allen, was assigned the name of Company H when Chaplain Taylor drew out that letter

from the hat.⁹² McIntire did not remain long with Allen's outfit, however. Once the line units were organized and named, the regimental headquarters needed to be fully staffed. Aside from regimental surgeon Thomas Jordan, McIntire was the only other practicing physician in the regiment, and he was assigned as its first assistant surgeon, a rank equivalent to that of first lieutenant, ostensibly to work under Dr. Jordan's supervision.⁹³ A quartermaster, sergeant major, commissary sergeant, and principal musician were also appointed, which rounded out the headquarters in what was known as the F&S, or Field and Staff of the regiment.⁹⁴

As the soldiers of the 78th continued their preparations in camp, McIntire would have been busy each day at sick call, treating men who had never lived in such close quarters and who came down with the likes of mumps, measles, fevers, diarrhea, sore throats, blisters, and other aches and pains. "There are several cases of ague in our company, [but] the doctors are very attentive," wrote Thomas Odell, a soldier in Company G.⁹⁵

Leading up to the departure of the 78th on September 20, McIntire would have had much to write about in his correspondence with Margaret, including his appointment as first assistant surgeon for the regiment, which would have meant a raise from \$13 a month as a private to \$105.50 for his new rank—\$311.59 and \$2,528.66 in 2015 dollars, respectively.⁹⁶ Despite "irregular mail service during the war," a number of letters must have passed between McIntire and his wife Margaret throughout his time in the 78th because in an 1898 diary entry McIntire mentions rereading his "army letters of '62 and '63."⁹⁷ For his part, those early notes to Margaret might have included a continuation of their discussion of the reasons for his enlistment. Those who joined up in this second year of the war as McIntire did, did so knowing full well that they faced greater danger than

those who enlisted a year earlier, when all thought the armed conflict would be brief. One large source of opposition to the war in the North came from vocal Democrats, known as Copperheads, who favored a Union with slavery and negotiation with the South to end the war.⁹⁸ The defeat of slavery might have been a factor in his enlisting, but given the deep respect he expressed in his diary for the nation and his dedication to serving the veterans of the war in his later years, it is more likely that McIntire's—and his comrades'—primary desire was to preserve the Union at all costs, even if that price was their very lives.⁹⁹

As difficult as military life was for the soldier, it was not any easier for the wives and children left behind. Margaret Bowers McIntire had two little girls to care for alone, in addition to being due to deliver another child in several weeks' time. The prospect that her husband would serve in the Union Army for three years, the typical enlistment period, would not have offered much comfort or incentive for Margaret to remain in Dallas City, away from her and Elihu's families. She probably had no income of her own and depended on the money that husband Elihu sent to her from his Army pay, which was irregular at times.¹⁰⁰ At some point the two of them must have made the decision for her to pack up and return to Spencer County, Indiana, 400 miles away, as evidenced by the fact that their son Henry was born in Spencer County in November 1862. However, the timing of when Margaret returned to Spencer County from Illinois with her two daughters is not known.¹⁰¹

After six weeks of drilling in Quincy, McIntire and his fellow soldiers must have been relieved at the news on September 18, 1862, that the regiment was to depart in two days' time by train for Louisville, Kentucky.¹⁰² At the Quincy train station around noon on September 20, nearly 1,000 soldiers, “destined for immediate and active service,”

clambered into open cars, most recently used to haul coal, which had wooden planks affixed across the top for the men to sit with their feet dangling above the floors.¹⁰³ The “very rough ride” took two days and was complicated by the sickness that afflicted many of the men, a reaction to the smallpox vaccines they had received—more likely from McIntire than Jordan, for reasons to be explained—before leaving Quincy.¹⁰⁴

The regiment alighted the train in Jeffersonville, Indiana, just across the Ohio River from Louisville on September 22, and the next evening the 78th ferried across into Kentucky. But the train trip and the river crossing took place without its regimental surgeon, Thomas Jordan. He was delayed several days because he needed to take and pass the Army Medical Board’s examinations, both oral and written, before certification as a “fully qualified physician.”¹⁰⁵ The record mentions no such obstacle for McIntire, so apparently he secured the needed credentials to fulfill his duties. Shortly after arriving in Louisville, the regiment drew wagons, mule teams, and two ambulances “to transport regimental medical supplies and care for the sick and march-worn.”¹⁰⁶ In Jordan’s absence, supervision of the ambulances would have fallen to McIntire, the only other surgeon in the regiment.

Duty in Kentucky

Lieutenant Colonel Carter Van Vleck, second in command for the 78th, left a rich record of the comings and goings of the regiment in a series of letters to his wife Patty. He described the daily routine imposed upon the men after their arrival in Louisville:

We are compelled to stand in line of battle every morning from 3 a.m. till daylight, rain or shine, wet or dry, & of course it makes many sick. There are now 106 in the Hospital here. Dr. Jordan is much needed here, hope he will be here to-day.¹⁰⁷

Treating so many sick soldiers was more than McIntire could handle alone. Fortunately, according to Van Vleck, Jordan did arrive the following day, but it is not certain how much help he proved to be. Jordan's precarious health and his even-more-emotionally precarious wife Annie, whose continual importunings by letter to join her husband in the field (as reported by Van Vleck to his wife Patty, both of whom were well acquainted with the Jordans), coupled with her insistence on not living in a tent as other soldiers had to do, were to become a constant distraction for Jordan and for the regiment.¹⁰⁸

Over the next few weeks the companies in the 78th were assigned to provost-marshal duty in downtown Louisville, consisting of arresting soldiers without passes, dealing with drunkenness, and providing security for a "superb mansion," which turned out to be a whorehouse.¹⁰⁹ On October 5, the 78th was ordered to march to Shepardsville and then later to Elizabethtown and New Haven—all in Kentucky. The regiment's mission was to guard bridges and a baggage train, as well as build a stockade fort at New Haven, where the unit was to spend the winter.¹¹⁰ For these marches, soldiers might cover 10 to 20 miles a day and carry three days of rations, a rifle and associated accessories, 40 rounds of ammunition, a haversack (bag with shoulder strap), canteen, blankets, overcoat, and a change of underwear.¹¹¹ It is not known if McIntire accompanied his comrades on these foot marches or was fortunate enough to ride in an ambulance, which included a horse, wagon, and driver.

Dr. Jordan, upon joining the regiment in Kentucky, had been constantly badgered by his wife by mail.¹¹² Ultimately, Jordan's wife made good on her threat about not living in a tent, for when she came to Louisville in late October, Jordan had to leave his unit to go to pick her up, and they stayed with a "secessionist" near camp and later lodged at a hotel.¹¹³

In those days it was not uncommon for spouses of officers to visit them in the field, but apparently it became such a widespread problem that the inspector general of the brigade, of which the 78th was a part, decreed that no officer's or soldier's wife was allowed in the vicinity of the camp, and Jordan was ordered specifically to send his wife home. Jordan pushed back, claiming that his presence as a surgeon was "not so necessary as that of other officers," arguing that he was less of a target for capture and asked if he could "keep her a good ways out"¹¹⁴ With no mention to the contrary from Van Vleck, Jordan's petition was apparently granted.

Unlike Jordan, who was named 33 times in Van Vleck's account and six times in the narrative of Steve Raymond's comprehensive history of the 78th, *In the Very Thickest of the Fight*, the silence associated with McIntire's name, which was noted but four times by Raymond and only twice by Van Vleck, speaks to McIntire's service as a high-yield, low-maintenance soldier and surgeon. Had he been more trouble to his regiment and particularly to its field officers, the record surely would have reflected that discontent, as it did with Jordan. This is not to say that Jordan did not tend to the wounded or do what he could to fulfill his duties, but his distractedness, along with his own health troubles, which are also a matter of record, meant that nearly all of the burden of caring for the sick and wounded fell to McIntire and others who were later added to the regiment's medical staff.¹¹⁵

Granted, the 78th saw little if any combat action in the first few months of its service, and wounds that garnered mentions in soldier's records included shooting off a finger or putting lead balls through their hands from carelessness.¹¹⁶ But beginning with the muster at Quincy, Illinois, there were plenty of sick soldiers to attend to. In fact, "sick" or "sickness" was mentioned 59 times in Raymond's history, and Van Vleck used

the terms 95 times in his letters. Specifically, ague and bilious fever were frequent visitors to the camp, and the weather also took its toll through exposure and because tents could not keep out the water. Wrote Van Vleck, “We have 300 sick out of the 8 companies left us. I am the only officer that is quite well,” and diarrhea was “the ever-present camp disease.”¹¹⁷ Disease—not combat—ultimately was the biggest killer among Union forces by nearly a two-to-one margin.¹¹⁸

What is known about communication between Elihu and Margaret during his military service was that they exchanged letters, as already indicated by his observation in 1898, “I put the day to good use in going [over] my army letters of ’62 and ’63.”¹¹⁹ McIntire’s taking a day to review them suggests that there might have been several letters in the stack. The content of those letters is unknown, but if Carter Van Vleck’s letters to his wife Patty are any indication, McIntire might also have shared the state of the war, his specific duties among the troops, his longings for home, and his own aches and pains—physical, emotional, or otherwise.¹²⁰ For her part, it is likely that in her letters Margaret bolstered Elihu’s spirits, apprised him of the progress of her pregnancy, and offered the latest news on daughters Ella and Mary. We do not know what they discussed about her return to Spencer County and where Margaret and the children would live, but one clue may point to her living in town rather than staying out on the farm: the birthplace of her third child. Henry McIntire was born on November 12, 1862, his parents’ sixth anniversary, in Lincoln City, Spencer County, Indiana.¹²¹ Lincoln City is about 20 miles north of Rockport and 15 miles north of the McIntire and Bowers family farms.

Returning to McIntire’s regiment, one of the few documented events of his military service was a small act of kindness McIntire showed to one of his fellow officers. As already noted, it was commonplace for spouses to visit their soldiers in the

field during the Civil War. Major William Broaddus's wife Martha was en route from Macomb, Illinois, to New Haven, Kentucky, to see him. McIntire, who was some distance away from regimental headquarters with a number of sick soldiers at a place called Beech Fork, somehow heard this news and sent an ambulance for Mrs. Broaddus and had her brought from Lebanon Junction, 15 miles to the north, where she had been waiting for transportation. "This visit was an entire surprise to the major & of course he feels very fine," wrote Van Vleck in a letter to his wife, dated November 10, 1862.¹²² McIntire did not know the personal benefit of his actions until he received word from his wife a few days later of the birth of his son Henry on November 12. He now had a son to carry on the McIntire name.¹²³

As for the 78th as winter approached, there was little variation to its soldiers' duties, which consisted of guarding bridges—and drilling when they were not guarding bridges. "We really have but very little to do," wrote Van Vleck.¹²⁴ The only excitement of that whole season was a brief skirmish with a Confederate cavalry unit, led by John Hunt Morgan, who was bent on the destruction of the railroad bridges the 78th had been guarding.¹²⁵

About the time of this clash with the Rebel cavalry, the 78th received a new assistant surgeon, Dr. Samuel Moss, of LaPrairie, Illinois. Van Vleck called him "a first rate surgeon and physician and an excellent gentleman," and Moss would have been a welcome addition for McIntire, who apparently shouldered much of the doctoring burden in the regiment, given the erratic behavior of the regimental surgeon and his wife.¹²⁶ Van Vleck presciently wrote in a letter dated November 31 [*sic*], 1862: "Dr. Jordan is quite well now & grows fat, & is very happy & will thus continue until Annie takes a notion

that it is time for them to go home, & then the fur will fly, till the resignation is handed in and accepted.”¹²⁷

In late January 1863, orders came for McIntire’s regiment to move from New Haven to Louisville by train to await transportation to its next assignment. Once in Louisville, the 78th boarded the *John H. Groesbeck*, a steamboat on its maiden voyage.¹²⁸ The officers were given staterooms, and the soldiers crowded into whatever space they could find on deck. On February 1, the steamboat cast off and moved westward downstream on the Ohio.¹²⁹ The scenery along the river might have looked vaguely familiar to McIntire, for the transport followed a portion of the same route that his family took in 1839 when they moved by boat from Ohio to Indiana. A day or two into the journey, the flotilla, which consisted of “56 transports & 7 gunboats & about 30,000 men,” passed Rockport, Indiana, which must have been heartrending for McIntire, being just a few miles away from his wife, young daughters, and his newborn son—they unaware of his nearness, and he powerless to go to them.¹³⁰

The steamboat arrived at the confluence of the Ohio and Cumberland Rivers and then turned south.¹³¹ The *John H. Groesbeck* arrived in Nashville on February 7 to a full port, with nowhere to land. The 700 men lived on board for three days—unhappily—and then marched three miles south of Nashville in a downpour and camped for the night.¹³² On February 12 the 78th marched the remaining 16 miles to Franklin, Tennessee, their intended destination, in about 12 hours. Dr. Jordan remained behind at the hospital in Nashville on account of a bad ankle. “I think there is just where he wanted to be,” wrote Van Vleck, “for now he can send for Annie and have things his own way.”¹³³

The 78th would spend the next four months in Franklin and during that time returned to a routine similar to the one it followed in New Haven, Kentucky: morning

formation at 5:30 a.m., breakfast, guard duty, skirmish drill or working on fortifications, lunch, drill, dress parade at 5 p.m., dinner, and free time until “lights out.”¹³⁴ There was also the occasional Rebel incursion that created a stir, but McIntire’s regiment saw little action while in Franklin.¹³⁵ That meant fewer combat wounds for McIntire and Moss to treat, but recurring sickness due to close quarters, exposure, and inclement weather created conditions for regular if not rampant illness among the men, and by extension, lots of work for the doctors, who were battling the same maladies themselves.¹³⁶

Resignation, War’s End, and Reflections

The work and the strain finally became too much for McIntire. Van Vleck wrote the following to his wife on April 1, 1863: “Our 1st asst. surgeon Dr. McIntire resigned & it was accepted & he has gone home.”¹³⁷ The reason for the resignation, dated March 25, 1863, in the Illinois Adjutant General’s report, was not specified.¹³⁸ McIntire made no mention of his resignation in his diaries, and his third-party biographical sketches were nearly as silent. One identified “ill-health” as the culprit, and another stated that “he resigned.”¹³⁹ A granddaughter’s account was equally vague, reporting only that “he was injured in the Civil War.”¹⁴⁰

While he never came out and said what specific medical condition prompted his resignation from the Army in 1863, McIntire offered a clue in referring to his “old bowel trouble” in diary entries in 1876, 1892, and 1898.¹⁴¹ Just three months before his death, an article in the *Mitchell Commercial* offered the clearest explanation for his suffering: “Dr. McIntire has had a hard time of it for the past two weeks. Thirty-five years of chronic diarrhea would try the strongest constitution that God ever made.”¹⁴² That time frame suggests that the beginning of his long-term health woes coincided with his time in

the 78th, and McIntire's obituary in the *Bedford Democrat* confirmed that "he died after years of suffering from disease contracted while serving in the army."¹⁴³

The condition of "chronic diarrhea," with its apparent onset during McIntire's Army service and which persisted throughout his life, could have had a number of causes to include contaminated food or water, which probably contained parasites.¹⁴⁴ Field conditions at the time are a likely suspect, and McIntire could have acquired an infection through something he ate or someone he treated, which later developed into something more serious and long-lasting. While no one without firsthand knowledge of McIntire's health can diagnose with certainty his lifetime ailment, one condition that matches the symptoms noted in McIntire's diaries and third-party descriptions is ulcerative colitis. This disease can be triggered by a viral or bacterial infection of the colon, consistent with the environment of poorly prepared food or close contact with infected individuals, which was McIntire's lot on a daily basis as a soldier and surgeon in the Army. Typically, those with ulcerative colitis experience alternating periods of flare-ups and remission, lasting for weeks or years.¹⁴⁵ The presence of flare-ups is also consistent with McIntire's subsequent diary accounts, where he might enjoy good health for weeks or months, only to be again seriously afflicted for long periods of time.¹⁴⁶

Another reflection by the *Commercial* in the late 1890s explained that McIntire was not alone in the long-term effects that the Civil War had on its soldiers: "There are thousands of old veterans like him that lost their health and vigor during the war that now are but shattered ghostly wrecks of what they might have been."¹⁴⁷ Given his reasons for enlisting and his commitment to the medical profession, it is probable that McIntire was conflicted about his need to resign. We can surmise how he himself felt when Jordan repeatedly went "missing in action" and left him to care for the men of the 78th, often

alone. It must have been difficult to hang up his stethoscope and leave Dr. Moss to fend for himself while Jordan was still back in Nashville with ankle trouble.¹⁴⁸

It was not until May 1863 that the 78th found a replacement for McIntire in Dr. William H. Githens.¹⁴⁹ The regiment remained in Franklin, Tennessee, until June 1863, when it marched to Murfreesboro and then Shelbyville, Tennessee.¹⁵⁰ In Shelbyville, Colonel Benneson, commander of the 78th, resigned, and Carter Van Vleck was appointed commander and promoted to colonel.¹⁵¹ In September 1863, the 78th crossed the Tennessee River to Rossville, Georgia, and took part in the Battle of Chickamauga, sustaining losses of about 40 percent of its forces. Other key battles that the 78th engaged in included Missionary Ridge (November 1863); the Atlanta Campaign (May–September 1864), losing 200 men, including Van Vleck (who wrote his last letter to his wife Patty, noting that he did so with a bullet still in his head); Savannah, Georgia (December 1864); and joined General William Tecumseh Sherman’s march through the Carolinas (January–April 1865). After the Confederate surrender in April 1865, the 78th marched to Washington, D.C., for the Grand Review in May 1865, was mustered out of the service on June 7, 1865, and sent home. All told, the 78th lost about 400 men, nearly half of its original numbers, and all of its original officers to death or resignation.¹⁵²

Grantsburg, the War’s Aftermath, and Mitchell

The day after his resignation, and before leaving for home, McIntire went to a studio in Franklin, Tennessee, and had his picture taken in his uniform. On the back of the photograph he wrote this inscription: “Franklin, Tenn. March 26th, 1863.” The image, showing a bearded, young-looking Elihu S. McIntire, was placed inside a hinged case and was likely kept and carried by Margaret Bowers McIntire until her death in 1925.¹⁵³

Whether by wagon, train, or steamboat, McIntire somehow made his way back to Spencer County, Indiana, to reunite with his wife and children.

For reasons not known, following Elihu's discharge from the Army, the McIntires settled in Grantsburg, Crawford County, Indiana, about 60 miles northwest of Rockport. The 1860 U.S. Census indicated that Grantsburg, Union Township, had 926 residents and no physicians.¹⁵⁴ In the mid-1860s, when McIntire came to the town, which sits on the crest of flat-topped, Appalachian-like, tree-covered hills, five miles south of the county seat of English, the dearth of medical doctors in the town might have drawn McIntire to the place.¹⁵⁵ Land-deed records indicate that McIntire purchased a lot in Grantsburg from Joseph W. Roberson in August 1864 for \$150.¹⁵⁶

Once in Grantsburg McIntire would have been kept busy advertising his practice, seeing patients, and getting settled on his new place. Margaret was together again with her husband, but any joy was no doubt marred by the stillbirth of their fourth child in 1864.¹⁵⁷ In the March 27, 1865, edition of the New Albany *Daily Ledger*, McIntire would have found his own name among those from his township who had been drafted for service in the war that continued to drag on.¹⁵⁸ Less than two weeks after that draft announcement, Lee surrendered to Grant on April 9, effectively ending the war and by extension the need for McIntire to report for duty or to prove that he had already served.

Along with the ending of the war, another landmark event that rocked the nation was the assassination of Abraham Lincoln on April 14, 1865. *The Jasper (Indiana)*

Weekly Courier offered this editorial:

Since the last issue of our paper the loyal people of the United States have been astounded, surprised and saddened beyond measure by the humiliating fact that the President, chosen by the majority of the people, and his chief Secretary, had been basely, cowardly and brutally assassinated at the Capital of the nation, and that the president had died from the effects of the too well direct shot. When first

it was told on our streets, our people were lo[a]th to give it credence, doubting the existence of an American whose inborn pride of country, even though he were rebel, would not prompt him to shrink from so base and infamous an act. But when the truth was fully realized, there was a general expression on the part of all, of deep seated sadness at the diabolical deed.¹⁵⁹

As an indication of his own reverence for and interest in Lincoln, McIntire made a point of visiting the president's gravesite in Springfield, Illinois, when he was on a business trip in 1878, and in his diary he mentioned reading *The Life of Lincoln* in installments in 1888.¹⁶⁰

Not long after the war's end McIntire sold his lot in Grantsburg for \$350 in June 1865, netting a profit of \$200 on the property.¹⁶¹ That amount would come in handy because within a few days of that transaction he purchased Lots 128 and 129 at the northeast corner of Brady and Warren Streets in Mitchell, Lawrence County, Indiana, for \$1,300.¹⁶² As with the move to Crawford County, little is known of the reasons for McIntire's relocation to Mitchell, 50 miles due north of Grantsburg. The potential of growing with a new town, which had been incorporated just the year before, did present an opportunity, however.

Spring Themes in McIntire's Writings

Three salient themes emerged in McIntire's personal and public writings in the months of April, May, and June: education, women, and ironically, death.

McIntire was a strong proponent of education, both in its benefits to the individual and its effect on society. He devoted his time early on during his residence in Mitchell, serving as a school trustee in the 1860s and 1870s.¹⁶³ In April 1882, McIntire complained in the *Commercial* that "there are entirely too many idle boys around the streets. Some boys who have good clothes, and who are not compelled to stay at home to work, are out

of school. This should not be so.”¹⁶⁴ By implication McIntire was criticizing the parents not only for letting their boys run rampant in Mitchell but also for not getting them the schooling needed to make them responsible citizens. In the same edition of his paper he noted the death of Joseph Dunn, janitor of the public school, and that the following day classes were dismissed so that schoolchildren could attend Dunn’s funeral.¹⁶⁵

In his editorials McIntire often extolled the virtues of education and called upon townspeople to support teachers and schools.¹⁶⁶ For example, he decried the poor treatment and the low pay that teachers received: “A good teacher is never paid what she is actually worth.”¹⁶⁷ As a former teacher himself, McIntire understood the impact of the low wages he received in the Perry County school system 30 years earlier. McIntire also favored the building of a normal college (where schoolteachers were trained), and he applauded those who financially supported such projects, as in this example: “Mr. Murray is one of our most enterprising men, he always favors every local enterprise that is calculated to benefit the town, especially in the line of education. Under his rough appearing garb he carries a large heart.”¹⁶⁸ The Southern Indiana Normal College was completed in 1880, and McIntire and a few others were credited for their “enterprising, untiring zeal” in making the dream of a college a reality in Mitchell.¹⁶⁹ The college stood for 20 years before it was destroyed in 1900, and a local history suggested that “the act is said to have been one of vindictiveness” as saloon owners hired someone to set fire to it because they felt the institution “was a roadblock to their financial success.”¹⁷⁰ It is doubtful that McIntire’s parents received more than a rudimentary education (see Appendix A), and this might have contributed to the attention he gave to education in his paper and how powerfully he instilled it in his posterity, as reflected in his diary.¹⁷¹

Another topic prominent in McIntire's springtime writings was women. That is not to say that he failed to note matters of concern to women in other seasons, but the frequency of those mentions at this time of year justifies the placement of this discussion in the Spring chapter. McIntire commented regularly in his newspaper about the woman suffrage movement, the treatment of women, and qualities of women that in his view endeared them to society. His diary and other records also indicate how he applied those views to the women in his own family.

Woman suffrage, or the right to vote, was not guaranteed by the original U.S. Constitution. Formal efforts to obtain the vote for women began with the Seneca Falls, New York, convention of 1848, which closed with this resolution:

In view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half of the people of this country and their social and religious degradation; in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States....

We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and national legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the pen in our behalf.¹⁷²

Suffrage conventions continued on national and state levels, and in the *Commercial* McIntire enlisted his pen to include a regular column on woman suffrage that consisted of material provided from the Indiana central committee of the movement.¹⁷³

McIntire also openly supported woman suffrage with his own comments and with quotes from notables such as poet John Greenleaf Whittier: "Women suffrage . . . I regard as an inevitable thing and a good thing. Women in public life will bring it up more than it will bring them down."¹⁷⁴ On the same page of the same edition of the *Commercial* McIntire added:

The COMMERCIAL is in favor of the two constitutional amendments, one to confer the right to vote on women and one to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. We are favorable of the first because it is right.¹⁷⁵

Between 1880 and 1882, in the surviving issues of the *Commercial*, McIntire took up his editorial pen 18 times, either in reprints or his own commentary, to urge readers to support woman suffrage. But it took 40 more years for him and so many others to be proven “right” when the 19th Amendment, granting the right to vote to U.S. citizens regardless of sex, was finally ratified on August 18, 1920.

Regarding how women ought to be treated, McIntire wrote that they should be considered as capable as men for public service. He lauded Indiana’s governor, Albert Porter, for appointing four women as notary publics. He also counseled that “a gentleman should always bow first to a lady, not her to him, even if his bow is not returned.”¹⁷⁶

McIntire also drew attention to the passing of influential ladies in Mitchell, as shown by this commentary in 1881: “Death has been doing some fearful work lately in our town. Mrs. Butler and Mrs. Dale, two highly respected women died this week.”¹⁷⁷

Descriptions of desirable qualities exemplified by women found their way into the pages of the *Commercial* with frequency. “Woman is but a little lower than the angels and just above the head of man . . . Woman is indeed infinitely superior to man and molds him as naturally as the trailing ivy,” he wrote in June 1882.¹⁷⁸ In tribute to the disciplined frugality of many women he printed in 1881 “The Managing Wife,” a story of a woman who saved her allowance for 10 years and paid cash for a new home to surprise her husband.¹⁷⁹

Perhaps without realizing it, by lauding women this way in the *Commercial* for their pure, tender, and sensible qualities, McIntire appeared to be subscribing to a ubiquitous view of the “fair sex.”¹⁸⁰ Barbara Welter, in her seminal 1966 article, “The

Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860,” she described an American culture that both idolized and expected nearly perfect behavior from women: “The attributes of True Womanhood, by which a woman judged herself and was judged by her husband, her neighbors and society could be divided into four cardinal virtues: piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity.”¹⁸¹ McIntire’s public praise of women generally lined up with those four attributes.

Accordingly, McIntire offered a moving reflection in the spring of 1882 within his account of a train wreck that occurred at the midpoint in the six-mile stretch between Mitchell and Bedford, where women from both towns labored alongside rescuers and physicians to care for the injured. In his description he wrote that “the ladies of our town did good service, no doubt the same may be said of the Bedford ladies, for good women are the same everywhere.”¹⁸² And later that same year he quoted “The Judicious Wife,” a tribute to women that was circulating at the time: “By far the chief part of all the common sense there is in this world belongs unquestionably to women. The wisest things a man commonly does are those which his wife counsels him to do.”¹⁸³

As for how McIntire operationalized in his home this on-paper respect for women, there is no evidence that McIntire did anything to discourage his daughters from obtaining education, pursuing a profession to support themselves, or seeing the world. His diaries offer no explicit intent on his part to push them to achieve, but his private writings, supplemented by outside sources, describe the seemingly unfettered goings and comings of Ella, Mary, and Lucy. Ella, the oldest, held the local-editor post for a time with the *Commercial* in 1883, the last year of her father’s ownership of the paper.¹⁸⁴ She was also interested in local politics and served as secretary of the Republican women’s club.¹⁸⁵ She later became a teacher, married in 1895, and left Mitchell to live with her

husband in Louisiana. Mary worked in her father's print shop alongside her brother Henry, and in the 1880 U.S. Census of Lawrence County, Indiana, her profession was listed as "printer." Like Ella, Mary was an educator, was the first of the children to marry, and moved to Cincinnati. Lucy attended local Republican conventions with her brothers and traveled to soldier reunions and the 1895 national Grand Army of the Republic encampment in Louisville in her father's place when his health prevented his attendance.¹⁸⁶ She spent a year in Kansas in her early 20s and later worked in the recorder's office in Baker City, Oregon.¹⁸⁷ Lucy was the last of the children to marry, in 1915, and moved to Arkansas with her husband. When it came to his wife Margaret, however, the record is scant regarding McIntire's day-to-day interaction with her, as she is mentioned less frequently in his diaries than all of his children, except Mary.¹⁸⁸ More attention will be devoted to Elihu and Margaret's relationship in the Fall chapter.

One does not normally associate springtime with the end of life, but McIntire seemed to be faced with it repeatedly during this season. As already outlined, his role as a regimental surgeon in the Civil War brought him into direct contact with disease and death almost constantly, and his own resignation that was probably due to ill health occurred around the beginning of spring. His brother Albert died in April 1854, and during the spring season he received the sad news of the passing of his six-year-old granddaughter Lorena on May 10, 1896.¹⁸⁹

It was one thing that these circumstances brought McIntire face to face with death in the springtime, but in his later years he seemed to obsess over it regularly in his diaries, particularly in May. Typically, this is a month of warm temperatures, fewer days of rain, and a period of blossoming and growth, but McIntire felt otherwise, as indicated by the following entries:

- May 31, 1895: It appears that I am able to get through the dreaded month of May alive.
- June 1, 1895: I am thankful to be through the dreaded month of May, going into summer about as last year, only slightly more helpless.
- June 1, 1896: How thankful I am to be to through the dreaded month of May. I have not much vitality left.
- March 31, 1898: I dread April and May, the latter month being the worst of the year for old invalids. If I get through May I will expect to live a year longer.
- May 31, 1898: I always dread the month of May. It is always the worst month on old invalids, I did not expect to live to see this 31st day, but I am here yet.
- June 1, 1898: The month of roses is here and I have escaped the ‘death month’ of May.

McIntire did not offer another explanation for his fear of May beyond calling it the “death month” and “the worst month on old invalids,” but his words ultimately proved prophetic—he passed away on May 7, 1899.

This chapter has traced McIntire’s personal and professional development from his late teens to his early 30s. Like the season of spring, the theme of this chapter, he blossomed in a number of different directions: he began training for the medical profession, taught school to support his apprenticeship and medical school, married, started his medical practice, had children, served in the Army, and relocated his family three times in that span of years. Again, like spring, McIntire weathered thunderstorms, which, while difficult and tragic at the time, ultimately brought needed growth and raised him to a higher plane.

For example, the separation from Margaret during medical school and military service tested his emotional mettle; an organizer of Company H and his service as an

officer in his regiment helped his confidence as a leader; and the loss of a child and his own health difficulties might have given him greater compassion for those sufferers who needed his healing touch and tenderness.

Clues to McIntire's Future Reporting Style from the Springtime of His Life

As noted in the Winter chapter, where McIntire's experiences on the farm and his brushes with death portended his later journalism, his profession as a physician and the educational journey that led to it are also factors that likely contributed to the kind of newspaperman he became. The cultural approach of this biography helps tie McIntire's later leanings to specific experiences that shaped his reporting.

As a physician, McIntire would be one of the first to hear of illnesses, injuries, or deaths suffered by the citizens of Mitchell. Often he could rely on firsthand information because he was the one making the house call.¹⁹⁰ His doctoring would also bring him in close contact with law-enforcement officials, clergy, and judges and attorneys, as McIntire and his counterparts might see each other regularly at accident locations, crime scenes, deathbeds, and courtrooms. Repeated contact with such persons might breed relationships of trust, which could pay off for McIntire both personally and professionally. The credibility of the *Commercial* would naturally increase because he often had exclusive access and could report the most accurate information about the person or incident in question. There was also the built-in credibility of the "M.D." after his name. On most occasions in other Indiana newspapers he was referred to as "Dr. McIntire," which was a more prestigious title than "Mr." and that could also have elevated his standing with subscribers and citizens.¹⁹¹

McIntire was a champion of education in his newspaper, calling for town boys to be in school rather than roaming the streets, promoting the building of a “colored” schoolhouse, praising the construction of a normal (teachers) college in Mitchell, and commending the Wisconsin legislature for establishing a system of night schools.¹⁹² As a former teacher himself, he was critical of the low pay given to teachers, and he encouraged them to subscribe: “Teachers should read the COMMERCIAL. There is a vast amount of matter of interest to teachers.”¹⁹³ He also encouraged teachers “to improve themselves in the science of teaching.”¹⁹⁴ These vignettes offer examples of how his journalism was influenced through “springtime” experiences in McIntire’s life.

For McIntire, the life events described in this chapter and the ones that would have an effect on his journalism helped prepare him for his “summer” when he was now at full capacity to meet the challenges of further periods of separation from Margaret, adding to his family, serving his community, and working to make life better for his fellow citizens.

Notes from Chapter 5

¹ ESM, April 1, 1871.

² ESM, April 12, 1876.

³ ESM, May 19, 1891.

⁴ ESM, May 16, 1892.

⁵ ESM, May 31, 1898.

⁶ Murdoch, *The Seasons*, 209–210.

⁷ Carey, “Journalism History,” 5.

⁸ ESM, January 9, 1896.

⁹ *Spencer County Interim Report: Indiana Historic Sites and Structure Inventory*, (Indianapolis, IN: Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana, August 2001), xxxii.

¹⁰ ESM, January 9, 1896. The biographical account in *Eminent and Self-made Men*, 1:24, indicates, “At the age of nineteen he taught school, having, by close attention to study, fitted himself for that occupation.”

¹¹ John McNeill, “Naaman the Syrian,” in *Sermons by the Rev. John McNeill, Volume 1*, ed. John McNeill (New York: Fleming H. Revell (1890), 339, accessed January 18, 2017, https://books.google.com/_books?id=IBgTAAAYAAJ.

¹² See, for example, the account of Dr. George W. Burton, a contemporary with whom McIntire later shared a practice in Mitchell, in *History of Lawrence*, 280–281. Burton’s biographical sketch indicates that he “taught school and studied medicine until 1857,” which placed him in the classroom just a few years after McIntire taught school.

¹³ ESM, January 9, 1896.

¹⁴ *History of Warrick*, 285.

¹⁵ See *Janesville (WI) Gazette*, March 14, 1846, 1; *Wisconsin (Madison) Express*, September 26, 1850, 2; *Sunbury (PA) American*, January 4, 1851, 1; *The New York Times*, January 15, 1853, 1; for examples of rural teachers who had to “board round,” meaning they circulated among the families of students they taught and received room and board for a brief period of days or weeks and then moved on to the next home.

¹⁶ Thomas James De la Hunt, *Perry County: A History* (Indianapolis, IN: W. K. Stewart, 1916), 95.

¹⁷ De la Hunt, *Perry County*, 95; Mary Hurlbut Cordier, “Prairie Schoolwomen, Mid 1850s to 1920s, in Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska,” *Great Plains Quarterly* 8 (Spring 1988): 104–105, 109–110.

¹⁸ 1850 U.S. Census, Grass Township, Spencer County, Indiana, 32.

¹⁹ “Indiana Marriages, 1811–2007,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KFFC-BXG> : 21 January 2016), William Davis and Dorcas McIntire, 15 Nov 1849; citing Spencer, Indiana, United States, various county clerk offices, Indiana; FHL microfilm 549,442.

²⁰ *History of Warrick*, 710–720; *Perry County Interim Report: Indiana Historic Sites and Structure Inventory* (Indianapolis, IN: Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana, April 1992), xxxii.

²¹ See extracts of letters from Indiana teachers compiled in the *Fourth Annual Report of the General Agent of the Board of National Popular Education with the Constitution of the Board* (Cleveland, OH: Harris, Fairbanks & Co., 1851), 46–50, accessed November 18, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=rWs0AQAAAJ&pg>.

²² See Rockport Planter, July 1, 1848; and January 6, 1855.

²³ *History of Warrick*, 374–375. See also ESM, January 9, 1896, where McIntire indicated that he was apprenticed to Dr. Crooks.

²⁴ Frederick Clayton Waite, *Western Reserve University Centennial History of the School of Medicine* (Cleveland, OH: Western Reserve University Press, 1946), 5–6, as cited in William G. Rothstein, *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century: From Sects to Science* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 85.

²⁵ Kerry L. Falvey, *Medicine at Yale: The First 200 Years* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 24–25. This source also includes an example of an 1814 certification letter by Dr. Cyrus Washburn for apprentice Elijah Carpenter. See also E. B. Krumbhaar, “The State of Pathology in the British Colonies of North America,” *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 19, no. 5 (May, 1947): 801–802.

²⁶ N. S. Davis, *History of Medical Education and Institutions in the United States, From the First Settlement of the British Colonies to the Year 1850* (Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co., 1851), 104–114, accessed November 22, 2016, <https://archive.org/stream/62640760R.nlm.nih.gov/62640760R#page/n1/mode/2up>. Leyiu Shi and Douglas A. Singh, *Delivering Health Care in America: A Systems Approach* (Sudbury, MA: Jones and Bartlett, 2004), 88–89.

²⁷ McIntire’s partner in practice, George W. Burton, was also an apprentice of medicine before enrolling in 1857 at the medical school at Iowa State University, the same medical school that McIntire attended. See *History of Lawrence*, 280.

²⁸ *History of Warrick*, 293, 334, 340, 342, 374–375.

²⁹ Rockport Planter, March 5, 1853, 1.

³⁰ *History of Warrick*, 289–290.

³¹ Harry B. Ferris, “Some Early Medical Teachers in Connecticut,” *Bulletin of the Society of Medical History of Chicago* 3 (January, 1923): 136, accessed November 22, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books/about/Bulletin.html?id=HEhOAQAIAAJ>; Falvey, *Medicine at Yale*, 24; Horace W. Davenport, *Not Just Any Medical School: The Science, Practice, and Teaching of Medicine at the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 1.

³² Diary of John M. Richardson, 1 February 1853–16 June 1854, Lincoln County, North Carolina, housed in the Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; and Diary of Thomas H. Wade, 1850–1852, Richland, Mississippi, housed in the Rudolph Matas Medical Library, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana; as cited in John Harley Warner, *The Therapeutic Perspective: Medical Practice, Knowledge, and Identity in America, 1820–1885* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 169. The medical-reference books mentioned are as follows: *The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression* by Charles Bell, published in 1844; *Silliman’s Chemistry: Elements of Chemistry in the Order of the Lectures Given in Yale College* by Benjamin Silliman, by Benjamin Silliman, published in 1831 in two volumes; *Gunn’s Domestic Medicine*, by John C. Gunn, published in 1836; *A System of Practical Surgery*, by William Fergusson, published in 1845; and *An Elementary Treatise on Human Physiology*, by François Magendie, published in 1844.

³³ Waite, *Western Reserve University*, 5–6, as cited in Rothstein, *American Physicians*, 85–86.

³⁴ See advertisement for “Drs. DeBruler & Crooks, Physicians, Surgeons, &c.” in the Rockport *Planter*, April 3, 1852, 3, where their office location is listed.

³⁵ ESM, January 9, 1896.

³⁶ In Indiana the only operating medical school at the time was the Medical College of Evansville, 30 miles from Rockport, which was established in 1849 but suspended classes in 1854. One hundred miles away in Louisville, there were two medical schools: the Kentucky School of Medicine and the University of Louisville. Another 120 miles farther east up the Ohio in Cincinnati there were four medical schools: Medical College of Ohio, Eclectic Medical College, Physio-Medical College, and the Cincinnati College of Medicine. To the north, Rush Medical College in Chicago, 350 miles away, was the only medical school in Illinois. Two hundred miles to the west of Rockport were two medical schools in St. Louis—the University of Missouri and Washington University Medical School—and 200 miles beyond that was the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Iowa State University in Keokuk. See *Medical Colleges of the United States and of Foreign Countries* (Chicago: Council on Medical Education and Hospitals, 1918), 7–9, 11, 13–14.

³⁷ Shi and Singh, *Delivering Health Care*, 86–87.

³⁸ The medical school that would ultimately reside in Keokuk, Iowa, actually came into being in Indiana. The Indiana Medical College was established between 1842 and 1846 in LaPorte, Indiana, with a seven-member faculty, perhaps in the manner described above, where a handful of practitioners joined together to enhance their professional prestige and at the same time increase their incomes by organizing a medical school that was attached to a local college—in this case, LaPorte University. See *Daily Gate City* (Keokuk, IA), November 29, 1968; *History of La Porte County, Indiana* (Chicago: Chas. C. Chapman & Co., 1880), 618–620. The school lasted only a few years in LaPorte and moved to Madison, Wisconsin, and then to Rock Island, Illinois, where it was known as the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Upper Mississippi. Only one year of classes was taught there in 1848–1849, and then the college moved to Davenport, Iowa, for the 1849–1850 school year. *Daily Gate City* (Keokuk, IA), November 29, 1968; John H. Rauch, *Medical Education, Medical Colleges and the Regulation & Practice of Medicine in the United States and Canada. 1765–1891* (Springfield, IL: H. W. Rokker, 1891), 38. The school was moved to Keokuk in 1850, and that winter the Iowa Legislature recognized the college as the official Medical Department of the State University of Iowa. See “Carver College of Medicine: History,” accessed April 15, 2016, <https://medicine.uiowa.edu/about-us/history>.

³⁹ *Daily Gate City* (Keokuk, IA), November 29, 1968.

⁴⁰ See the Central Pacific Railroad Photographic History museum site to see maps of the U.S. railroad system in 1850 and 1860, accessed April 15, 2016, http://www.cpr.org/Museum/RR_Development.html#1L. The 400-mile trip on the stage would have cost approximately 25 dollars, at a rate of about six cents per mile, meals not included. And at a speed of about five miles per hour, the stage might cover 50 to 60 miles per day, making the journey in about eight days. See Pooley, *Settlement of Illinois*, 368; “How Fast Did the Stagecoach Travel?” accessed April 16, 2016, <http://www.wellsfargohistory.com/resources/oregoncurriculum.pdf>. The fare for a 575-mile boat trip from Rockport to Keokuk—the same distance as his 1839 trip from Marietta, Ohio, to Rockport—would have been about half that of the stage and of about

the same duration unless the boat captains were willing to travel by moonlight and on Sunday, which would have made the trip a day or two shorter. See Davenport (IA) *Gazette*, August 23, 1854, as cited in “Helpful Hints for Steamboat Passengers,” accessed April 16, 2016, https://www.uni.edu/iowahist/Frontier_Life/Steamboat_Hints/Steamboat_Hints2.htm.

⁴¹ *Gate City* (Keokuk, IA), May 13 and 28, 1857, as cited in Edward S. Cooper, *William Worth Belknap: An American Disgrace* (Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003), 56.

⁴² Fred E. Woods and Douglas Atterberg, “The 1853 Mormon Migration through Keokuk,” *The Annals of Iowa* 61, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 6.

⁴³ Woods and Atterberg, “Mormon Migration,” 23.

⁴⁴ Orion Clemens, *Keokuk City Directory for 1856–7*, (Keokuk, IA: Orion Clemens Book and Job Printer, 1856): 87, 101. See also *Daily Gate City* (Keokuk, IA), August 21, 1956, 12.

⁴⁵ From a transcription of pages 61 to 83 of D. S. Fairchild, *History of Medicine in Iowa* (Iowa City, IA: Iowa State Medical Society, 1927), accessed April 16, 2016, <http://iagenweb.org/history/Medicine/PartThird.htm>.

⁴⁶ Roane expressed feeling “green” among his 70 classmates, some of whom were much older than he, having practiced medicine for many years before enrolling at Keokuk, and “are as ignorant as quacks can well be.” See *Daily Gate City* (Keokuk, IA), August 21, 1956, 12; “Regulations for Dissection, Keokuk, Iowa, 1855–1856,” accessed April 18, 2016, <http://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/com/id/96/rec/18>. This last comment by Roane suggests that the faculty reinforced the importance of proper training and certification *before* engaging in the practice of medicine.

⁴⁷ William Hanchet, ed., “A Medical Student in Keokuk: Letters of Joshua Nichols Speed, 1858–1860,” *The Annals of Iowa* 37, no. 6 (Fall 1964): 420. Upon Speed’s arrival he sent for his “bedclothes”—the 19th-century term for sheets and blankets—from home to be shipped to him “by way of the rail-road and the river” because it was cheaper to pay the freight on them than to buy them new for 25 dollars and sell them to another student at half that price when he completed medical school.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 421, 424–425, 428–430.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 425–426, 428, 430.

⁵⁰ See fee and faculty schedule for the Medical Department of the Iowa State University at Keokuk, dated September 21, 1862, in possession of Keokuk (IA) Public Library.

⁵¹ One such demonstration was described thus: “A large tumor was removed yesterday, from the neck of a young man from Illinois, by Prof. Sanford, at the Iowa Medical College. In the removal the carotid and subclavian arteries were laid bare, and it had extensive connections with important parts about the neck. It was removed in a minute and a half exactly, the patient being under the influence of chloroform and insensible to pain. This is the fourth Tumor which Dr. Sanford has removed from necks of different patients since the opening of the present session, in presence of the medical class. All the patients rapidly recovered. A great many of the most critical and important operations in surgery have been performed by him this winter before the class, his practice alone supplying many clinical opportunities.” *Daily Gate City* (Keokuk, IA), January 21, 1858.

⁵² Jordan Friedman, “10 Most Affordable Private Medical Schools,” *U.S. News & World Report*, March 26, 2016, accessed April 16, 2016, <http://www.usnews.com/education>

/best-graduate-schools/the-short-list-grad-school/articles/2016-03-29/10-most-affordable-private-medical-schools. Yearly fees for students during McIntire's time at Keokuk were as follows: five dollars for matriculation, five dollars for dissection and demonstration, 10 dollars to each of the seven professors on the faculty, and 30 dollars for a diploma, for a total of 110 dollars per year, the equivalent of \$2,928.14 in 2015 U.S. dollars. See Fairchild, *History of Medicine*; inflation calculator, accessed April 16, 2016, www.westegg.com.

⁵³ Hanchet, "Medical Student," 418–433. The letters from Speed to his fiancée Ellen Scripps explained that the beginning of classes was in early November and the end of the school year was in February. Such was the case for the 1858–1860 and 1860–1861 school years.

⁵⁴ For evidence of Charles McIntire's affiliation with the Methodist Church and Masonry, see *History of Warrick*, 337, 431. For examples of Elihu McIntire's Masonic affiliation, see ESM, March 20, 1871; January 24, 1876; and December 27, 1878.

⁵⁵ John R. Allen, *Introductory Address Delivered to the Class in the Medical Department of the Iowa State University, at the Opening of the Course of 1855–6* (Keokuk, IA: Daily Post, 1855), 2.

⁵⁶ ESM, January 9, 1896; Raymond, *Thickest of the Fight*, 14; *History of Lawrence*, 124.

⁵⁷ ESM, January 9, 1896; *History of Lawrence*, 124; *Eminent and Self-made Men*, 1:24; *Rockport Advertiser*, November 20, 1856, 2.

⁵⁸ See *Mitchell Commercial*, May 11, 1899, 4, for a description of McIntire's personality.

⁵⁹ "United States Census, 1850," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MHVW-CMB> : 9 November 2014), Eleanor Bowers, Grass, Spencer, Indiana, United States; citing family 359, NARA microfilm publication M432 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.).

⁶⁰ See Federal land deeds, nos. 24,119; 24,120; 18,857; and 23,752; General Land Office, Vincennes, Indiana, all dated August 1, 1839.

⁶¹ Genealogical record of William Bowers and Eleanor Irwin and their children, accessed November 12, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/tree/person/L4S1-MFX/details>.

⁶² 1850 United States Census, Grass Township, Spencer County, Indiana, 27. Margaret's four oldest siblings were not listed in the household in this census.

⁶³ "Family Life: Courtship and Marriage," accessed April 20, 2016, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-2536601450.html>. An undated historical account found among McIntire family papers, written by Mary McIntire McAvoy, daughter of Elihu S. McIntire and Margaret Bowers, indicated that Eleanor Irwin Bowers never remarried after her husband William Bowers' death.

⁶⁴ *Rockport Advertiser*, November 20, 1856, 4.

⁶⁵ See the following for evidence of McIntire's practicing medicine in Dallas City, Illinois: *History of Lawrence and Orange*, 297; *Eminent and Self-made Men*, 1:24; *History of Lawrence and Monroe Counties, Indiana: Their People, Industries, and Institutions* (Indianapolis, IN: B. F. Bowen & Co., 1914), 107.

⁶⁶ Thomas Gregg, *History of Hancock County, Illinois, Together with a History of the State* (Chicago: Chas. C. Chapman & Co., 1880), 929.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 749–756.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 931.

⁶⁹ For examples, see *Mitchel Commercial*, August 4, 1881, 1 (Story of a bitter Mormon plural wife); November 17, 1881, 1 (Homely Mormon women); January 5, 1882, 1 (Mormon missionaries secure 1,500 converts in England); February 2, 1882, 1 (Mormon procession mobbed in England); March 30, 1882, 1 (“Frightful” annual increase of Mormon population by births and by converts); and September 28, 1882, 2 (Democrats did nothing with the “Mormon Question”).

⁷⁰ As established previously, it is probable that the McIntires began their residence in Dallas City-Pontoosuc, Illinois in 1856 and remained there until September 1862 when Elihu enlisted in the Army. It is not known how long Margaret remained there, but she gave birth to son Henry in November 1862 in Lincoln City, Spencer County, Indiana, which suggests that she returned to Spencer County between September and November 1862. Henry’s birth record accessed November 6, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/tree/person/93YW-DK2/details>. Information on the birthdates and places for Ella and Mary McIntire. Accessed November 6, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/tree/person/KH66-HM2/details>.

⁷¹ See, for example, the *Quincy Daily Whig & Republican*, October 18, 1858, 2, for an excerpt of Lincoln’s remarks during his October 14, 1858, debate in Quincy. The slavery question was treated extensively by Lincoln during the debate.

⁷² William E. Baringer, *Lincoln Day by Day, A Chronology 1809–1865: Volume 2: 1849–1860* (Washington, DC: Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, 1960), 225–232. Alton was also where abolitionist-printer Elijah Lovejoy was murdered in 1837.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 232–234.

⁷⁴ *Carthage Republican*, October 28, 1858, 2.

⁷⁵ Green B. Raum, *History of Illinois Republicanism* (Chicago: Rollins Publishing, 1900), 78–88.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 90. See the original, handwritten draft of the proclamation, accessed November 13, 2016, <https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/image/LincolnEmergencySession.htm>, accessed November 13, 2016.

⁷⁷ *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois: Volume II, Containing Reports for the Years 1861–66* (Springfield, IL: Phillips Bros., 1900), 13–16, 28–31.

⁷⁸ *Illinois Military Units in the Civil War* (Springfield, IL: Civil War Centennial Commission, 1962), 21, 23, 26, 39.

⁷⁹ John H. Clifford and Marion M. Miller, eds., *The Works of Abraham Lincoln: State Papers 1861–1865, Vol. VI* (New York: C. S. Hammond & Co., 1908), 198–199.

⁸⁰ *Illinois Military Units*, 29, 31, 34.

⁸¹ McNeill, James M., “*Call Them Men, Then!*”: 78th Illinois Volunteer Company H, eds. William J. Allen and Marvel A. Allen (River Falls, WI: William J. Allen and Marvel A. Allen, 1997), 2; *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois: Volume V, Containing Reports for the Years 1861–66* (Springfield, IL: Phillips Bros., 1901), 3, accessed December 21, 2016, <https://archive.org/details/reportofadjutant05illi1>.

⁸² McNeill, “*Call Them Men*,” 3.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 2; Edward Mott Robbins, *Civil War Experiences, 1862–1865* (Carthage, IL: Edward Mott Robbins, November 1919), 1, accessed November 16, 2016, <https://archive.org/details/civilwarexperien00robb>.

⁸⁴ Robbins, *Civil War Experiences*, 1, accessed November 16, 2016, <https://archive.org/details/civilwarexperien00robb>.

⁸⁵ With so many units gathering and in process of organization, no camp had been set up to receive them, so the Dallas City contingent was to be on its own for food and accommodations until further notice, and its members found their way to Adams House, Farmers House, Mississippi House, Broadway House, and the Metropolitan. See McNeill, “*Call Them Men*,” 2–3; Robbins, *Civil War Experiences*, 12.

⁸⁶ *Report of the Adjutant General, Volume V*, 23, 171; *Report of the Adjutant General, Volume VI, Containing Reports for the Years 1861–66* (Springfield, IL: Phillips Bros., 1901), 339, accessed December 21, 2016, <https://archive.org/details/reportofadjutant06illi1>; *Quincy Daily Journal*, February 7, 1889, 3.

⁸⁷ Robbins, *Civil War Experiences*, 12.

⁸⁸ Beyond selecting key leaders, which had been done, companies had to decide who would serve where. Regiments were obliged to do the same, only on a larger scale, having to assign field officers, appoint an adjutant to handle paperwork, locate medical personnel, a quartermaster, a chaplain, senior-enlisted staff, and a band. See *Report of the Adjutant General, Volume V*, 3.

⁸⁹ McNeill, “*Call Them Men*,” 3.

⁹⁰ *Report of the Adjutant General, Volume V*, 18; Robbins, *Civil War Experiences*, 11.

⁹¹ Raymond, *Thickest of the Fight*, 12–13, 15; Isaac W. Landon, member of Company K, 78th Illinois Infantry, published his recollections of the trip from Quincy, Illinois, to Jeffersonville, Indiana, in the *Quincy Daily Journal*, February 7, 1889, 3;

⁹² McNeill, “*Call Them Men*,” 3; Donald Odell Virdin, *The Civil War Correspondence of Judge Thomas Goldsborough Odell* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1992), 2, letter from Odell to his wife and children, dated September 4, 1862.

⁹³ *Report of the Adjutant General, Volume V*, 3. In the Mitchell, Indiana, cemetery on the smaller of McIntire’s headstones, a military marker, his rank is listed as “LIEUT. E. S. MCINTIRE.”

⁹⁴ *Report of the Adjutant General, Volume V*, 3–4.

⁹⁵ “Army Record of John Batchelor, Co. I, 78th Ills. Vol. Infantry, 2nd Brig. 2nd Div., 14th Corps, Beginning August 1862, Rewritten 1910,” as cited in Raymond, *Very Thickest of the Fight*, 13; Virdin, *Civil War Correspondence*, 2, letter from Odell to his wife and children, dated September 21, 1862.

⁹⁶ Pay scale for Union troops in the Civil War, accessed April 25, 2016, <https://www.nps.gov/fosu/learn/education/upload/Money-Civil-War-Activity.pdf>. Inflation calculator at <http://www.westegg.com/inflation/> provided the conversion of 1862 dollars to 2015 dollars.

⁹⁷ ESM, March 26, 1898. The whereabouts of the letters is unknown. For descriptions of poor mail service for soldiers of the 78th Illinois Infantry, see also Teresa K. Lehr and Philip L. Gerber, eds., *Emerging Leader: The Letters of Carter Van Vleck to his Wife, Patty, 1862–1864* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2012), 1; Albert P. Taylor wrote a summary of letters from of his grandfather, Cornelius Pierce, of Company K, 78th Illinois Infantry, for an article that appeared in the *Quincy Daily Whig*, December 19, 1909, 16.

⁹⁸ *Alton (Illinois) Telegraph*, March 20, 1861, 2; *Daily (Columbus) Ohio Statesman*, August 7, 1862, 2; see also Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 503–506.

⁹⁹ See, for example, ESM, February 22, 1878; July 4, 1878; *Mitchel Commercial*, February 24, 1881, 3; March 3, 1881, 4. See also Raymond, *Very Thickest of the Fight*, 10–12, for further reflections on the motivations of the soldiers of the 78th Illinois for enlisting in the fall of 1862.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Major William Broaddus to his wife, September 28, 1862, as cited in Raymond, *Very Thickest of the Fight*, 90. Broaddus' letters are housed in the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Duke University, Durham, NC; Albert P. Taylor wrote a summary of letters from of his grandfather, Cornelius Pierce, of Company K, 78th Illinois Infantry, for an article that appeared in the *Quincy Daily Whig*, December 19, 1909, 16.

¹⁰¹ Henry McIntire's birthdate and place, accessed November 6, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/tree/person/KZPW-4P2/details>.

¹⁰² Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 14; cited letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated September 18, 1862.

¹⁰³ *Quincy Daily Herald*, September 20, 1862, 2; Robbins, *Civil War Experiences*, 2.

¹⁰⁴ Isaac W. Landon, member of Company K, 78th Illinois Infantry, published his recollections of the trip from Quincy, Illinois, to Jeffersonville, Indiana, in the *Quincy Daily Journal*, February 7, 1889, 3. Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 15; cited letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated September 23, 1862.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 4; cited letters from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated October 1–2, 1862.

¹⁰⁶ Robbins, *Civil War Experiences*, 2.

¹⁰⁷ Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 17; letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated October 1, 1862.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 18; letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated October 2, 1862.

¹⁰⁹ Robbins, *Civil War Experiences*, 9–10.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1; Albert P. Taylor wrote a summary of letters from of his grandfather, Cornelius Pierce, of Company K, 78th Illinois Infantry, for an article that appeared in the *Quincy Daily Whig*, December 19, 1909, 16; McNeill, "Call Them Men," 27.

¹¹¹ Robbins, *Civil War Experiences*, 12.

¹¹² Wrote Van Vleck on October 12 and 22, respectively, "Dr. Jordan is the most homesick of any body here," and "Dr. Jordan is exceedingly unhappy all the time; his wife makes a perfect fool of him, so he is not half fit for business. Among other things she writes . . . ten pages a day." See Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 22, 26; letters from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated October 12 and 22, 1862.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 28, 46; letters from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated October 27 and November 25, 1862.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 32, letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated November 5, 1862; Raymond, *Very Thickest of the Fight*, 33.

¹¹⁵ See, for example, Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 23, 27, 69, 87, letters from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated October 15 and 24, 1862, and February 13 and April 1, 1863.

¹¹⁶ Letter from Major William Broaddus to his wife, October 2, 1862, as cited in Raymond, *Very Thickest of the Fight*, 90; Albert P. Taylor wrote a summary of letters from of his grandfather, Cornelius Pierce, of Company K, 78th Illinois Infantry, for an

article that appeared in the *Quincy Daily Whig*, December 19, 1909, 16; McNeill, “*Call Them Men*,” 27.

¹¹⁷ Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 73, 78, 92, letters from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated February 19, March 8, and April 10, 1863; Raymond, *Very Thickest of the Fight*, 26.

¹¹⁸ *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, 1861–1865* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1870), xxxvii, accessed November 16, 2016, <https://collections.nlm.nih.gov/ext/kirtasbse/14121350RX1/PDF/14121350RX1.pdf>. The table lists 186,216 deaths from disease in the Union Army during the Civil War out of a total of 304,369 deaths, a ratio of 61.18 percent to 38.82 percent.

¹¹⁹ ESM, March 26, 1898.

¹²⁰ See examples of such expressions in Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 12, 28 and, 82, letters from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated August 24 and October 29, 1862; and March 20, 1863.

¹²¹ Henry McIntire was the researcher’s great-grandfather. See his birthdate and place, accessed November 6, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/tree/person/KZPW-4P2/details>.

¹²² Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 36.

¹²³ Of Elihu’s three sons ultimately born to him and Margaret, the McIntire name continued only through Henry. Son Charles and his wife, Mabel Walls McIntire, had no children. Son John and his wife, Elizabeth Biggs McIntire, had two sons, Lea and Donald. Lea lived to middle age but died with no descendants, and Donald was killed in a bicycling accident at the age of 15.

¹²⁴ Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 34, letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated November 8, 1862.

¹²⁵ The Rebels had artillery pieces, while the Union side had none, and the Gray succeeded first in frightening the 78th soldiers in blue, who had yet not seen any direct contact with the enemy, and second in destroying two trestles, which effectively shut down the railroad until February 1863. No casualties were sustained on either side, but at Muldraugh’s Hill, near Elizabethtown, Companies B and C of the 78th were captured and paroled, meaning they were sent to Louisville and then on to St. Louis to await exchange before returning to the regiment 10 months later. Robbins, *Civil War Experiences*, 1; Viridin, *Civil War Correspondence*, 45, letter from Odell to his wife, dated March 1, 1863; “The Diaries of Charles Vilasco Chandler, 1861–1863,” transcribed by Ann Robinson Chandler, 1989. Putnam County Public Library, Greencastle, Indiana, 32, as cited in Raymond, *Very Thickest of the Fight*, 47–49; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. XX, Part I (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1887), 153.

¹²⁶ Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 56, letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated December 21, 1862.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹²⁸ Robbins, *Civil War Experiences*, 1; Viridin, *Civil War Correspondence*, 41, letter from Odell to his wife, dated January 29, 1863.

¹²⁹ Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 65, letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated January 31, 1863; Raymond, *Very Thickest of the Fight*, 58–59, 63–65.

¹³⁰ Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 66, letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated February 3, 1863.

¹³¹ Ibid., 65–66, letters from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated January 31 and February 3, 1863; Robbins, *Civil War Experiences*, 1; Virdin, *The Civil War*, 43, letter from Odell to his wife, dated February 4, 1863.

¹³² Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 68, letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated February 11, 1863; Virdin, *Civil War Correspondence*, 44, letter from Odell to his wife, dated February 11, 1863.

¹³³ Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 68–69, letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated February 13, 1863.

¹³⁴ Robbins, *Civil War Experiences*, 2; Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 70, letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated February 15, 1863. “Lights out” was a common expression on both sides during the Civil War, even before the invention of the electric light later in the decade. See, for example, *The Semi-Weekly State Journal* (Raleigh, NC), June 5, 1861, 3, and *The Spirit of Democracy* (Woodsfield, OH), July 17, 1861, 2.

¹³⁵ *Report of the Adjutant General, Vol. V*, 23. The official report indicated that the 78th, while at Franklin “was diligent in company, battalion, and bridge drill.” On March 4, 1863, the one significant battle in which Union forces at Franklin took part, they were “met by Van Dorn and Wheeler and were routed.” In this engagement the 78th “was in line of battle in reserve, and met with no loss.” See also Raymond, *Very Thickest of the Fight*, 71–72, and Virdin, *Civil War Correspondence*, 44–76 (letters from Thomas Odell to his wife, dated March 1–June 21, 1863), for a description of the light duty the 78th Infantry Regiment performed while at Franklin.

¹³⁶ Van Vleck observed that “There are a great many complaining of colds & other camp disagreeables. . . . [Chaplain] Taylor is quite down & stayed behind in Nashville The Col. & Maj. are quite unwell So it is with a great many of the officers & men.” See Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 68, letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated February 11, 1863.

¹³⁷ Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 87, letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated April 1, 1863.

¹³⁸ *Report of the Adjutant General, Vol. V*, 3.

¹³⁹ *Eminent and Self-made Men*, 1:24; *History of Lawrence and Orange*, 297.

¹⁴⁰ “Events in Elihu S. McIntire’s life per Beulah Francis McIntire,” accessed December 5, 2015, <http://mv.ancestry.com/viewer/2d915f9e-b4df-413c-a200-d30224e456c7/24828379/1611378216>. Beulah Francis McIntire Ruch was Elihu S. McIntire’s granddaughter through his youngest son, John Bowers McIntire.

¹⁴¹ See ESM, January 20, 1876; January 18, 1892; April 30, 1892; September 26, 1898; December 21, 1898.

¹⁴² *Mitchell Commercial*, February 16, 1899, 4.

¹⁴³ *Bedford Democrat*, May 12, 1899, 8.

¹⁴⁴ “Understanding Diarrhea—The Basics,” accessed May 3, 2016, <http://www.webmd.com/digestive-disorders/chronic-diarrhea-16/diarrhea-causes>.

¹⁴⁵ “Ulcerative Colitis,” accessed May 3, 2016, <http://www.webmd.com/ibd-crohns-disease/ulcerative-colitis/digestive-diseases-ulcerative-colitis>.

¹⁴⁶ See, for example, ESM, January 1, 1892; January 22 and August 11, 1895; and September 26 and December 21, 1898.

¹⁴⁷ *Mitchell Commercial*, November 18, 1897, 4.

¹⁴⁸ It was common for officers to resign for health reasons. In the 78th, Chaplain Robert Taylor resigned due to “bleeding at the lungs” in June 1863, and Dr. Moss was “in quite poor health,” and talked of resigning in July 1863. See Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 128, 139, letters from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated June 21 and July 12, 1863. Jordan himself, as Van Vleck prophesied, tendered his resignation, dated April 5, 1863, “on account of his lameness.” See *Report of the Adjutant General, Volume V*, 3; Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 87, letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated April 1, 1863. Curiously, within three weeks of resigning and returning home to Macomb, Illinois, Van Vleck wrote the following about Dr. Jordan: “I supposed that Annie would soon cure the Dr.’s ankle. But it is a little singular that she & he should both so soon recover.” See Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 97, letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated April 26, 1863. Upon his return, the fully cured Jordan opened a bank, was elected mayor of Macomb, and served in that office from 1865 to 1867. See Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 4–5; *History of McDonough County, Illinois: Together with Sketches of the Towns, Villages and Townships, Educational, Civil, Military and Political History; Portraits of Prominent Individuals, and Biographies of Representative Citizens* (Springfield, IL: Continental Historical Co., 1885) 1077, 1118, accessed November 12, 2016, https://archive.org/stream/historyofmcdonou00spri/historyofmcdonou00spri_djvu.txt.

¹⁴⁹ *Report of the Adjutant General, Vol. V*, 3.

¹⁵⁰ Lehr and Gerber, *Emerging Leader*, 130, 135, letters from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated June 26 and July 4, 1863.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 165, letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated September 4, 1863.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 275, letter from Carter Van Vleck to his wife Patty, dated August 11, 1864; *Report of the Adjutant General, Vol. V*, 23–27.

¹⁵³ The photograph and carrying case were passed down within the McIntire family and are in possession of the researcher.

¹⁵⁴ 1860 U.S. Census, Crawford County, Indiana, 147–170.

¹⁵⁵ The physical description of Grantsburg is based on the researcher’s visit to the town on March 17, 2016.

¹⁵⁶ Land-deed records of Crawford County, Indiana, August 23, 1864, Book 11, 180.

¹⁵⁷ See Elihu S. McIntire family birth record, accessed November 12, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/tree/person/21T7-WZX/details>.

¹⁵⁸ *New Albany Daily Ledger*, March 27, 1865, 2.

¹⁵⁹ *Jasper Weekly Courier*, April 22, 1865, 2.

¹⁶⁰ ESM, November 14, 1878; January 1, 1888, and February 1, 1888.

¹⁶¹ Land-deed records of Crawford County, Indiana, June 19, 1865, Book 11, 228, indicate that McIntire sold his Grantsburg lot to Nathaniel Straughan.

¹⁶² Ed Whitcomb sold McIntire the two lots in Mitchell, according to the *General Index of Deeds*, Lawrence County, Indiana, 1863–1866.

¹⁶³ *Minutes Kept by the Clerks of the Incorporated Town of Mitchell, 1864–1907*, as cited in Dorothy Alice Stroud, *My Legacy for Mitchell Indiana* (Mitchell, IN: Bank of Mitchell, 1985), 63.

¹⁶⁴ *Mitchel Commercial*, April 20, 1882, 3.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, April 20, 1882, 3.

¹⁶⁶ McIntire's view that an educated populace benefits society was not new. Editor and publisher Abner Cole was a proponent of the American Freethought Movement through his newspaper, the *Reflector*, in Palmyra, New York, in the 1830s. Cole promoted "knowledge [as] power" and lamented "that in a fruitful country like ours . . . where 'civil and religious liberty' is the boast of every citizen, that a thirst for knowledge would naturally abound; but sorry are we to confess that this is far from being the case." See "Squire Dogberry's Reflections on Education," *Reflector*, January 13, 1830, as cited in Kimberley Mangun and Jeremy Chatelain, "For 'the cause of civil and religious liberty': Abner Cole and the Palmyra, NY, *Reflector* (1829-1831)," *American Journalism* 32, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 191.

¹⁶⁷ *Mitchel Commercial*, February 2, 1882, 2; January 5, 1882, 2.

¹⁶⁸ *Mitchel Commercial*, February 17, 1881, 2.

¹⁶⁹ *History of Lawrence and Monroe*, 107; Stroud, *My Legacy*, 64.

¹⁷⁰ "Interesting Items from Everywhere," *The School Journal* 61, no. 7 (September 1, 1900): 181, accessed November 25, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=UgRLAAAYAAJ>; Stroud, *My Legacy*, 64–65.

¹⁷¹ See, for example, ESM, April 13, 1878; June 21, 1878; November 2, 1878; May 28, 1892; October 14, 1892; July 25, 1895; and April 25, 1896. Children Mary, Ella, John, and Charles all worked as teachers in their early adulthood; one granddaughter, Blanche McAvoy, was an elementary and high-school teacher and later earned her Ph.D. at the University of Chicago and became a professor of botany at Ball State University, Ohio State University, and Illinois State Normal University; and another granddaughter, Margaret McIntire Rimstidt, taught home economics at Mitchell High School for 35 years, retiring in 1969. See Marilyn Ogilvie and Joy Harvey, eds., *The Biographical Dictionary of Women in Science: Pioneering Lives from Ancient Times to the Mid-20th Century, Volume 2, L–Z* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 861–862; Obituary of Margaret McIntire Rimstidt, *Bedford Times-Mail*, May 2, 2000.

¹⁷² Senate Committee Report on Woman Suffrage (Sen. Elbridge G. Lapham, chair), no. 686, companion document to Senate Resolution 60 (Forty-Seventh U.S. Congress, June 5, 1882): 2.

¹⁷³ See, for example, *Mitchel Commercial*, May 18, 1882, 2; and June 29, 1882, 2.

¹⁷⁴ *Mitchel Commercial*, April 28, 1881, 2.

¹⁷⁵ See examples of McIntire's support for a constitutional amendment granting women the vote, *Mitchel Commercial*, April 28, 1881, 2; June 8, 1881, 2; September 22, 1881, 2; February 16, 1882, 3; March 30, 1882, 2; and May 4, 1882, 2.

¹⁷⁶ *Mitchel Commercial*, March 3, 1881, 4; September 1, 1881, 4.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, January 27, 1881, 2.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, June 22, 1882, 4. McIntire cited no external source in this tribute to women, entitled, "I Wish I Was a Man," but it was not of his own composing, as it also appeared, similarly uncited, in other papers of the period. See, for example, *Chariton Courier* (Keytesville, MO), May 16, 1884, 1; and Perquiman's *Record* (Hertford, NC), December 3, 1890, 2.

¹⁷⁹ *Mitchel Commercial*, January 27, 1881, 1.

¹⁸⁰ The “fair sex” was used frequently in newspaper commentary during McIntire’s tenure at the *Commercial*. As an example, “fair sex” appeared 5,137 times during a March 2, 2017, search for the term in Indiana newspapers for the years 1872–1883 on newspapers.com.

¹⁸¹ Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860,” *American Quarterly*, 18, no. 2, Part 1 (Summer, 1966): 152.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, June 15, 1882, 3. Welter made a nearly identical observation 84 years later: “A true woman, was a true woman, wherever she was found.” See Welter, “True Womanhood,” 152.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, October 26, 1882, 4. See I. W. Wiley, ed., *The Ladies Repository: A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Literature and Religion* (Cincinnati, OH: Poe & Hitchcock, 1867), 752.

¹⁸⁴ *Bloomington Telephone*, January 20, 1883, 1.

¹⁸⁵ ESM, September 19, 1888; September 23, 1888; and September 10, 1892.

¹⁸⁶ ESM, August 16, 1895; and September 14, 1895.

¹⁸⁷ *Bedford Democrat*, August 8, 1899, 8.

¹⁸⁸ Margaret was mentioned 85 times in McIntire’s diaries. The number of times the children were mentioned is as follows: Ella, 111; Mary, 64; Henry, 383; Lucy, 90; Charles, 232; John, 172.

¹⁸⁹ Albert McIntire died on April 8, 1854, accessed November 18, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/tree/person/KHP5-ZHF/details>.

¹⁹⁰ For examples of house calls McIntire made while he was editor of the *Commercial*, see ESM, January 7, February 1–2, May 22, and October 1, 1878,

¹⁹¹ See the following for examples of when McIntire was identified as a physician “Dr.” or “Doctor” in rival newspapers: *Jasper Weekly Courier*, March 24, 1876, 4; *The Indianapolis News*, November 7, 1881, 4; and *Bloomington Telephone*, January 20, 1883, 1.

¹⁹² *Mitchel Commercial*, January 27, 1881, 3; February 17, 1881, 2; January 19, 1882, 2; February 9, 1882, 2; and April 20, 1882, 3.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, January 5, 1882, 2.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, February 9, 1882, 2.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMER

*A time to heal . . . A time to laugh . . . a time to dance . . .
a time to cast away stones . . . a time to get, and a time to lose.*

— Ecclesiastes 3:3–5, 6

1871: Day pleasant, looks like Indian Summer.¹

*1882: Newspapers are like people; it takes time to get acquainted with them,
but once an attachment is formed, it is hard to break.²*

*1895: Early in the morning there was a fine thundershower,
followed by a most beautiful summer day, with occasionally thunder.³*

1897: As hot as summer again, and the ground as dry as a desert.⁴

In summer, nature is at its fullest. The extended hours of sunlight in temperate zones (between 23 degrees and 66 degrees north or south latitude) combine with the warmest temperatures of the year to comprise the growing season. People spend more time outside and thus interact face to face with one another more than at other seasons. For farmers, summer also involves maintaining the momentum generated by spring planting through giving attention to watering, weeding, and thinning. In summer the heat and humidity can be oppressive and sometimes lethal—for plants and for people. Rain can become scarce, and drought and dusty conditions can otherwise obscure the greenery of the season.

Scottish poet James Thomson aptly described the alternating verdancy and vapidness of summer in his poem, “The Four Seasons”:

’Tis raging noon; and, vertical, the sun
Darts on the head direct his forceful rays.
O’er heaven and earth, far as the ranging eye
Can sweep, a dazzling deluge reigns; and all
From pole to pole is undistinguish’d blaze.
In vain the sight, dejected, to the ground
Stoops for relief; thence hot-ascending steams
And keen reflection pain. Deep to the root
Of vegetation parch’d, the cleaving fields
And slippery lawn an arid hue disclose,
Blast Fancy’s bloom, and wither e’en the soul.⁵

All of these circumstances manifested themselves metaphorically in the summer period of the life of Dr. Elihu S. McIntire. It was a season of competence and confidence, yet it also brought commotion, just as a summer thunderstorm can gather out of nowhere, unleash its fury, and recede as quickly as it came, leaving little evidence that it was ever there. In his life’s summertime, McIntire established himself in a new town, made his medical and Masonic mark, started a newspaper, took a yearlong sabbatical from it and returned. Many of these vicissitudes could very well have put their stamp on the look and feel of the *Commercial* as McIntire navigated the extremes of drought and deluge within family, employment, and health arenas. All these and more will be treated in this chapter.

Lawrence County and Mitchell

Lawrence County, Indiana, was organized in January 1818, just 18 months after statehood.⁶ Marion Township, where Mitchell resides, was created in 1826 and named for Revolutionary War hero Francis Marion.⁷ Between 1842 and 1850, Redding, Woodville, and Juliet were the first three towns established in Marion Township of Lawrence County, but none of them survived more than a few years. Where Mitchell now stands

there was “a dense forest of large trees,” and the first of these large trees was cut down in 1849 to make way for a north-south rail line that was to eventually connect New Albany, Indiana (about 60 miles southeast of Mitchell and on the opposite bank of the Ohio River from Louisville, Kentucky), and Chicago.⁸

In 1853, Ormsby M. Mitchel, as chief engineer for the Ohio & Mississippi Railway, surveyed the area for an east-west railroad that would cross the already-existing north-south line. Ormsby also platted the location of a new town planned for the junction of this new east-west O & M line and the north-south track of the Louisville, New Albany, & Chicago Railroad, known at the time as the L. N. A. & C., and later called the Monon.⁹ John Sheeks and G. W. Cochran laid out this new town in the same year that Mitchel conducted his survey, with east-west streets named Vine, Baker, Frank, Mississippi, Main, Warren, Brook, and Oak. North-south streets were given the ordinal-number names of First through Seventh. In 1859, Jonas Finger surveyed West Mitchell and added 115 lots to the original plat, which created three more north-south streets: Brady, Stevens, and Finger.¹⁰ In 1860, Mitchell’s population stood at 612 residents.¹¹

Surveyor Ormsby Mitchel, who would become far more significant than a small footnote in Lawrence County history, attended the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and graduated 15th in the class of 1829, 13 places behind a young cadet named Robert E. Lee. Mitchel returned to West Point as an instructor, studied law, and practiced for a few years. Tiring of the legal profession he accepted a professor post at Cincinnati College and later became director of its observatory. The Ohio & Mississippi Railroad hired him as its chief engineer for the years 1848–1849 and 1852–1853, and it was in this capacity that he surveyed the new east-west railroad in Lawrence County.¹² The town of Mitchell was named in his honor when it was incorporated in 1864.¹³ Historian Dorothy Stroud

wrote that the varied spelling of *Mitchel* for the town name resulted from an error by a government clerk in Washington, DC, who incorrectly recorded it as *Mitchell*, and the name stuck.¹⁴ McIntire, perhaps to pay homage to Mitchel's memory, changed the masthead of his paper to read "THE MITCHEL COMMERCIAL" for a period of time during his stint as editor.¹⁵

Given the timing of the sale of their property in Grantsburg and the purchase of their lots in Mitchell, McIntire, his wife Margaret, and their three children, Ella, Mary, and Henry, could have arrived in Mitchell, Indiana, as early as the summer of 1865. The nation had just concluded its Civil War, and it was mere weeks after the official, 30-day, flags-at-half-staff, mourning period for President Abraham Lincoln.

It is probable, based on the 1860 U.S. Census of Crawford County, that McIntire was the only doctor in Grantsburg. In contrast, Mitchell, from its beginnings, boasted a "goodly number of doctors." Among those in practice about the time McIntire arrived were Doctors J. T. Biggs, George W. Burton, Isom Burton, William A. Burton, J. B. Larkin, H. L. Kimberlin, J. L. W. Yost, A. L. Goodwin, M. D. Crim, and Jacob Trush.¹⁶ Some doctors also became druggists to supplement their incomes, which could have been a result of the large ratio of physicians to citizens, the latter numbering 1,087 in Mitchell in 1870.¹⁷ J. T. Biggs, being the most prominent doctor-druggist in town, built a three-story drug and general store on the southwest corner of Fifth and Main Streets.¹⁸ McIntire did not go into the drug business himself, never indicating such in his diary or his newspaper, but he might have purchased some of his medicines from Biggs.

What exactly drew 33-year-old McIntire to Mitchell is not known, but part of that appeal could have been the town's potential to grow, given its location at a railroad junction. The railroad had a great deal to do with Mitchell's early expansion, which drew

much of its population from nearby Redding, Juliet, and especially Woodville. Until Mitchell was established, Juliet was the terminus of the New Albany line, and “was quite a business place.” Even stage lines ran from Juliet to the Chicago area; however, “the completion of the railroad ruined the prosperity of the town (Juliet) and early death was its fate.”¹⁹ Mitchell then became the hub of transportation and commerce in Southern Lawrence County.²⁰

The east-west Ohio & Mississippi railroad, which later merged with the Baltimore & Ohio line—the B & O Railroad of MONOPOLY[®] fame—established a passenger depot on Mississippi Avenue between Fourth and Fifth Streets, and the Monon depot was a stone’s throw away on Fifth Street between Mississippi Avenue and Main Street.²¹ Hotels began to spring up around the junction of the two lines at Mississippi Avenue and Fifth Streets. On the northwest corner of that intersection was the Hotel Grand, and directly south across the street was Arlington House. The Putman Hotel was just north of the Grand, Dayson House was adjacent to Arlington House on the south, and the O & M had its own hotel at Mississippi and Fourth.²²

Weary passengers with a stopover in Mitchell not only required a place to sleep, which need could have been met at any number of nearby hotels, but many also were open to liquid refreshment. At one point in Mitchell’s history, 17 saloons were clustered on and around Mississippi Avenue—so many that the area came to be known as Whiskey Row. One way that saloonkeepers kept their customers from leaving their barrooms was to offer them all they could drink for five cents if they remained there the entire evening.²³ Saloons were a regular source of trouble for Mitchell and surrounding towns and a regular target of McIntire’s ire in the *Commercial*.²⁴ Rival papers acknowledged McIntire’s opposition to the sale of liquor and also commented on the ubiquity of

drinking establishments in Mitchell, with the *Bedford Star* as an example: “The Mitchell [sic] Commercial wants someone to inform it how many saloons there are in Mitchell. They have become so numerous that it is hard to count them.”²⁵

However, hotels and saloons were not the only businesses in growing Mitchell. At its peak during McIntire’s lifetime, around the turn of the 20th century, Mitchell’s business district, generally confined to a wide, dusty, dirt-and-gravel Main Street, featured three drugstores, four barber shops, two jewelers, a bank, a post office, three millinery shops, four printers, one cobbler, one photography studio, eight grocery/general stores, two tailors, one furniture store, two butchers, one restaurant (in addition to those in hotels and train stations), one clothing store, a bakery, and a hardware store. Within one block of Main were two livery stables, a sawmill, an icehouse, a lumberyard, the local light company, a grain elevator, and a poultry/egg seller.²⁶ Downtown churches included the Presbyterian Church on Main Street between Seventh and Brady Streets, the Baptist Church at Frank and Seventh Streets, the Jacob Finger Methodist Episcopal Church at Warren and Brady Streets (“catty-corner,” as they say in Mitchell, to Lots 128 and 129, where the McIntires made their first Mitchell home), and the African Methodist Episcopal Church at Warren and Third Streets.²⁷

Over the next five years, from 1865 to 1870, as Mitchell the town moved toward the apogee just described, McIntire was building his medical practice and finding other ways to be involved in the community, such as following his father Charles into the Masonic brotherhood (joining both the Royal Arch chapter and the lodge of Free and Accepted Masons in Mitchell) being elected a school trustee, serving as a Republican delegate, and being selected as a vice president for a congressional convention of Indiana’s Sixth Congressional District.²⁸ Daughter Lucy was born in 1866 and son

Charles in 1869, both in Mitchell, but little is known about McIntire's home life in his early Mitchell years, and little information has survived about his doctoring.²⁹ However, the following account adds to McIntire's own limited writings about his practice and gives a more detailed glimpse into what it might have been like to be a physician in a rural town like Mitchell.

Dorothy Alice Stroud, longtime Mitchell resident and historian, retells the story of J. T. Biggs, one of the prominent physicians of the time in Mitchell. Much of what Stroud wrote in 1985 about Biggs would apply to McIntire's practice of medicine in Mitchell as well:

One hundred years ago it was not enough for a doctor to be a physician and surgeon; he had to be his own pharmacist as well. Dr. Biggs mixed his own medicine and often carried it to the patient while on his way to one of his many house calls. Some of these calls were made by horseback and took many hours over what was supposed to be a road. He often straddled his horse or crawled up into a hayloft for some needed rest. . .

The kitchen table was a vital part of the doctor's house calls. There he mixed the drugs, which he carried with him, and there he performed surgery, when needed, with the crude instruments of the times³⁰

In his diary McIntire never mentioned mixing drugs, but he did dispense prescriptions and assisted in postmortem examinations.³¹ He also noted some of the conditions he saw patients for included attending to mothers in "childbed" and treating and sitting up with men, women, and children who had pneumonia, typhoid, meningitis, whooping cough, dysentery, neuralgia, bilious fever, erysipelas (severe skin rash), or "nervous collapse."³²

As Stroud mentioned, it was "not enough" for a doctor in Mitchell to rely solely on his practice to make a living. Recall the 1853 advertisement that Drs. Crooks and DeBruler ran in the local Rockport, Indiana, paper asking patients to bring their bills current.³³ McIntire similarly felt a pinch on his pocketbook, perhaps from a combination

of nonpaying patients and not having enough patients in the first place. Although he might make 10 dollars as payment for delivering a baby, a tidy sum which he had occasion to receive, by about 1870 McIntire was looking at other options to either supplement or supplant his medical-practice income.³⁴ This conclusion is derived from a review of McIntire's oldest surviving diary, which he began to keep in 1871. However, before continuing with the story of what McIntire did when he came to this consequential crossroad at the close of his honeymoon period with Mitchell, it is necessary to first highlight the ritual of his diary writing, which held an important place in his daily routine for the rest of his life.

Beginning His Diary, Purposes for Writing It, Changes in Profession

To this point in McIntire's history, the bulk of sources consulted have come from records other than those created by McIntire himself. He began keeping a diary in 1871, and his January 1 entry that year read:

Bright, balmy and pleasant at home all day except in evening when my wife and I went to Bower's and after ward to Shoals. Mr. West his wife and her sister were at our house till bed time.

Our girls are taking lessons on the piano, and are learning well. Miss Snodgrass is their teacher.³⁵

If McIntire kept diaries before 1871, either they have not survived to the present day, or they have not yet come to light. And if diary writing was in fact a new activity for McIntire, it began a string of more than 3,000 entries recorded over a 29-year period, ending in 1899, just two months before his death.

Thirteen of McIntire's journals have survived to the present day.³⁶ McIntire's habit was to make a brief, to-the-point record of each day's events in a pocket-sized,

leather-bound datebook. Most of McIntire's surviving diaries were of the Standard Diary brand with light-brown, leather covers. The Standard Diary came with lined pages and gilded edges, preprinted dates, extra pages for memoranda, and a financial-accounts register.³⁷ His daily notes typically provided few details beyond names, locations, activities, and the state of the weather. Regarding the latter, beginning in 1884 McIntire would note the temperature each day, taken at sunrise, noon, and sunset, record the direction of the wind, and describe the weather conditions that day such as "clear," "cloudy," or "rain."

As for McIntire's penchant for brevity in his diary, that might have been a product of his journalistic—not his editorial—background. He certainly filled both roles in the *Commercial*, offering both facts and opinion on the occurrences and polemics of his day. However, the reporter in him took preeminence in his diary, as he was much more *descriptive* than *prescriptive*, and he left most of his moralizing for the pages of his paper.

In his diary McIntire would also occasionally place between pages a small scrap of paper with handwritten key words to bookmark a name or event, most likely for future reference. Also included in his diaries were occasional newspaper clippings of interest that mentioned McIntire or some other person or event of importance to him. That he noted his activities each day, to include his many travels throughout the Midwest over the years, suggests that he carried his diary on his person wherever he went, its compact size allowing him to keep it in a coat or back pocket.

McIntire mentioned his diary only six times over the years in his personal record. On two occasions, in 1878 and 1895, he recorded how he obtained that year's datebook. In 1878 he received it on January 10 from a local merchant in exchange for an ad in the

Commercial, and in 1895 he noted on January 19 that his diary arrived by mail.³⁸ The other four mentions of his diary were in connection with resuming his diary writing after a hiatus due to illness: “I have been too feeble to write up my diary” and “I have not been able to keep my Diary written up. Am too shaky to write,” are two examples.³⁹

Because McIntire never left any explanation in his diaries for why he began or maintained a private record, no one can say for sure what purpose it served for him. But it was obviously important enough to him to record the events of his life because the habit persisted for nearly three decades. One explanation is that McIntire directed the brief, daily entries to an audience of one—himself—merely to help him remember when certain events occurred and who might have been involved in them.

Some diary writers use the pages of their records in a metacognitive sense, i.e., to have conversations with themselves about decisions, difficulties, or what a given experience means to them.⁴⁰ There was little or no evidence that that is how McIntire used his diaries. And in his clipped, facts-only, writing style—possibly a holdover from his journalist days—there was scant indication that he was addressing some audience besides himself, such as his wife Margaret, his children, or his posterity. McIntire offered no advice or lessons learned in his diary, and he reflected little about his feelings and nothing about his faith.

Returning to McIntire’s activities in 1871, his diary that year described a routine that was quite different from what would be typical of a country doctor in a small town in Southern Indiana. Instead, it chronicled the travels of an insurance salesman as he moved by horse and by train between Mitchell and other towns in the Lower White River Valley, staying over for one or more nights, returning home for a brief stay, and then going back out on the road again. These descriptions in that year’s diary lead to the conclusion that

McIntire left his medical practice for what he believed would provide a better living for him and his family.

Two entries early in 1871 state that “I found a renewal of my contract,” which came unexpectedly, and “I came home . . . yesterday to go to Cincinnati this morning, but my contract for this year was renewed and I am not under necessity of going,” thus eliminating the need for him to take the five-hour, one-way trip by train to Cincinnati.⁴¹ One key fact can be deduced from these jottings: McIntire might have left the practice of medicine as early as January 1870 to work for an insurance company that had an office in Cincinnati, since he reported a “renewal” of his “contract for this year,” which would have normally required his traveling to Cincinnati to renegotiate, but the renewal came by mail instead. The renewal also implies an initial yearlong contract for the previous year. When McIntire came to Mitchell there was already a large number of practicing physicians, and the glut of doctors might have watered down the pool of potential patients and by extension, the income needed to support his wife and five children.

Life insurance was a thriving industry after the Civil War, due to consumer and investor confidence in government agencies to regulate companies and their favorable records “even in times of financial distress.”⁴² Commissions of 30 to 35 percent on new premiums, the going rate at the time, might have been what drew McIntire to the business.⁴³ McIntire’s 1871 record mentions three insurance companies: Continental Insurance Company, Home of New York, and Empire Life.⁴⁴ Organized in the 1850s, Continental and Home of New York were fire-insurance companies listed in an annual report of the period.⁴⁵ Empire Life, based on the name, was a life-insurance company. McIntire appeared to sell policies for each of these companies and might have represented others not mentioned in his diary.

McIntire's insurance career proved to be less rosy than the initial prospect of willing subscribers and generous commissions. During the first half of 1871, as recorded in his diary, he expended a significant amount of time, money, and energy to contact potential clients in Lawrence and surrounding counties. In this period McIntire spent time in Jackson and Washington Counties to the east, Orange County to the south, and Martin County to the west.

According to the financial-account register in his 1871 diary, some destinations he reached by train from Mitchell, paying a one-way fare of \$1.05 to Medora, 65 cents to Fort Ritner, and 30 cents to Hardinsburg. At times he rented a wagon for 50 cents or a buggy for a dollar to get from one town to another, or he might "hire" a horse for between 50 cents and a dollar per day. He did his share of traveling on foot as well.⁴⁶ Dinners at restaurants would cost 50 cents each, and a night's stay at a hotel typically was a dollar.⁴⁷ It is not known if McIntire's employer reimbursed him for his travel expenses.

Curiously, McIntire's financial register for 1871 lists only his outgo (expenses) and not any income he received from his insurance work. One entry in the Memoranda section of his diary that year names five clients from Clear Spring in Jackson County, who on the same day paid premiums of \$19.89, \$24.78, \$42.44, \$25.48, and \$52.40, respectively, for life policies of \$1,000 each.⁴⁸ In a corresponding diary entry McIntire explained that he arranged for a Dr. Richards to examine William Alexander, the one who paid the \$52.40 premium, presumably to determine if the man was healthy enough to be insured.⁴⁹ If McIntire received the going-rate, 30 percent commission on the five premiums paid, he would have earned \$49.50, which is the equivalent of \$988.71 in 2015 dollars.⁵⁰ Not a bad day's work, then or now.

Unfortunately, a day like that was the exception and not the rule for McIntire's insurance business. Instead, most days and weeks mirrored his expressions of frustration failure, or loneliness, such as in these 1871 examples:

- January 3: This is a dull place for insurance.
- January 8: Am feeling very much cast down by reason of the hard times.
- January 13: I can do no insurance here. Times are too tight. No money.
- January 19: Talked to a number of persons, did no work.
- February 10: Met several people from the country, but I find it hard times to get insurance.
- February 18: Am discouraged in the business. It is truly hard to work now on account of the scarcity of money.
- March 5: This is the third Sunday that I have been from home since I have been in insurance.
- April 4: No one in town, times are dull.

Compounding his frustrations was certainly his heavy workload. In addition to finding new subscribers, McIntire was also responsible for handling renewals, which involved collecting payments and processing claims when a client passed away or sustained damage or lost property due to a fire.⁵¹ McIntire seemed to take personally one yet-to-be paid claim: "I wrote some letters to the Co. today and am not well pleased that the Thompson loss is not paid." The loss was in fact paid a few days later.⁵²

One unique approach that McIntire might have employed to drum up insurance business was to use his contacts in local fraternal organizations by going to Masonic lodge or chapter meetings wherever he happened to be. He even arranged for his insurance supervisor, a Mr. Gallamore, to be inducted into the brotherhood, McIntire administering the first two degrees, Mark Master and Past Master, to him in successive

weeks.⁵³ While his diary notes his attendance at a number of lodge meetings in 1871, McIntire did not articulate a specific strategy therein that suggests his presence went beyond a social interaction with his fellow Masons.⁵⁴ His Masonic activities in general will be examined later in this chapter, but for the moment it is worthy of note that McIntire seemed to explore every possible avenue to generate leads, including among his fellow Masons, who might help him further his business interests.

Like his Army experience, McIntire worked hard at selling insurance and seemed to give it his best under trying circumstances, but ultimately he had to make the difficult decision to move on to something else. This diary entry in June 1871 reflects what McIntire was feeling at the time: “Am doing nothing . . . Times are too dull to do anything in life insurance at all.”⁵⁵ While he did not leave the insurance business behind completely, he focused his efforts for the next few months on other activities that would keep him away from home just as much as his traveling-salesman job did, that of mineral and land speculation.

All told, McIntire spent 93 nights away from home in 1871, as calculated by counting the mentions in his diary when he stayed overnight elsewhere. The first half of the year was devoted to selling insurance, and much of the remaining months saw him traveling through Southern Indiana to secure leases on parcels of land that might contain rich mineral deposits or be situated along the yet-to-be-built Rockport Railroad line.⁵⁶ If the timing and locations were right, either of these ventures could prove quite profitable for McIntire by developing the land and resources himself or by re-leasing the land to interested parties at a higher price. The impact of his absences from home over the course of the year are not clear from his diary entries, but the facts that are known might offer some insight into his private life.

By 1871 McIntire and his wife Margaret had five children at home: Ella, 13; Mary, 11; Henry, 9; Lucy, 5; and Charles, 2. The Winter chapter highlighted a serious case of the mumps that afflicted the two youngest children that year, and McIntire mentioned in his diary a few other illnesses his children endured that included a serious case of diphtheria for Lucy in which McIntire was “doubtful about her recovery;” a sore throat for Charles, whom McIntire always identified as Charley in his diary; Ella’s being kept home from school for an undisclosed illness; and a case of croup for poor five-year-old Lucy, whose health seemed to be hit the hardest that year. All the children appeared to survive these maladies with no long-lasting effects being noted in McIntire’s subsequent diaries.⁵⁷ McIntire mentioned his wife four times in his 1871 diary: once when they visited her mother, Eleanor Bowers; when he sent her five dollars while he was out of town; when they once attended church together; and when they went on a stroll to visit a friend.⁵⁸ McIntire also kept busy at home, working in his garden and on his woodhouse, and he tried to trade or sell his existing home, as he was having a new house built in West Mitchell. No sale or move was mentioned in his diaries, but this effort, along with the children’s illnesses and his projects at home appeared to keep him busy when he was not away on business.⁵⁹

Turning from insurance to iron and coal, it is not known what prompted McIntire to consider speculating for these deposits. He was later to become known in Indiana’s geological community for his expertise in minerals, but the record is silent on whether he initially became interested in the subject for pleasure or because it had the potential to make him a great deal of money. Given the circumstances of the time, it would be difficult for him not to be aware that the consumption of coal in American industries and cities was booming. In fact, it doubled each decade between the 1850s and the 1890s, and

some of the richest bituminous-coal reserves were located in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.⁶⁰ The iron outlook at the time was equally optimistic, and Indiana “had visions of rivaling Pennsylvania and West Virginia in the iron industry.”⁶¹

McIntire first mentioned his interest in coal and iron ore in his June 16, 1871, diary entry, and four days later he recorded these thoughts: “I was all day at home. Mr. Sargent came out at 8:45 and he and I and [Clayton] Bowers were up most of night perfecting the plans for our leasing land for coal & i[ron].”⁶² This effort occupied much of McIntire’s away-from-home diary entries for the rest of the year. He mentioned looking at a “coal bank,” “good iron and coal land,” finding “80 acres [of] good coal land,” and that he was “only waiting for pleasanter weather to go to Dubois Co. on a farther prosecution of our coal & iron speculation there.”⁶³ His investors included the previously mentioned Sargent and Bowers, McIntire’s brother-in-law, and a Mr. DeVol, whom McIntire sometimes referred to as “Duval” in his diary. All told, the three invested \$250 in the venture.⁶⁴ McIntire does not indicate in his record what he himself contributed to the enterprise over and above his own expenses.

A companion enterprise to coal and iron speculation was the effort to lease land along what McIntire and his partners believed would be the route where the Rockport Railroad was to be built. In 1869 certain “Articles of Association” were filed with the Secretary of State of Indiana that paved the way for the organization of the Rockport and North Central Railway, which would first link Rockport in Spencer County with Jasper, Dubois County, via a 39-mile rail line.⁶⁵ In those articles was a plan to continue the route from Jasper to Mitchell, adding another 47 miles to the railway.⁶⁶ The coal-and-iron speculation could be profitable in and of itself, but if McIntire and other investors also held the right-of-way for a railroad that passed near planned coal and iron mines, they

could benefit on both counts, and such a line could link the region to the coal and iron markets in Chicago, about 350 miles to the north of Rockport.⁶⁷

McIntire spent much of the remainder of 1871 inspecting land along the expected route and leasing a number of parcels of land.⁶⁸ His location of choice to look for land seemed to be in the area of French Lick, Orange County, just 20 miles to the southeast of Mitchell. McIntire went there 20 times that year. On these trips he would travel on horseback, and it was a four-hour journey one way from Mitchell to French Lick. Typically he would stay over at Dr. Line's or Mr. Hardin's place, both of whom might have been investors or lessees.⁶⁹ McIntire even went so far as to circulate petitions in Orange County townships calling for support of a local railroad tax.⁷⁰ He expressed optimism in his diary about the success of the venture: "Prospects for our new R.R. good."⁷¹ Anticipation was a frequent theme in his diary for when the contract would be awarded, and presumably, the route for the new railroad would be announced.⁷² That announcement finally came on October 2, 1871, and McIntire wrote that "there is great rejoicing among the people," perhaps referring to himself, his investors and lessees, as well as concerned citizens.

That rejoicing might have been premature, however. It turned out that the railroad from Rockport to Jasper was in fact completed in 1874, but the Jasper-Mitchell line was never built; thus, the land that McIntire worked so hard to secure for himself and his investors did not yield the lucrative return they anticipated. In the remainder of his 1871 diary, other than noting another lease or two of land, McIntire did not write much more about the new railroad.⁷³ This is understandable given the slow pace at which the railway project proceeded, and McIntire resumed his work and home activities, writing reports, making applications for policies (including one on himself), attending Masonic chapter

meetings, sitting up with a sick patient, building a platform around the cistern at his home, “and waiting for something to turn up.”⁷⁴

Mitchell Commercial

Because he was involved in various ventures, any of which had the potential to bear financial fruit, it is safe to say that McIntire liked to keep his options open. In this case, the “something” that “turn[ed] up,” would not only alter the course of the rest of his life but would in reality *define* it. Ironically, it had little to do with medicine, minerals, life insurance, or land, and it was mentioned only in passing in his 1871 diary: “At home not doing much. Am trying to buy out the Mitchell Commercial office.”⁷⁵ McIntire said nothing further about the *Commercial* in his record that year. What he did discuss in the last few entries of 1871 was a solo trip to Spencer County between December 16 and 21. He noted that it had been “over seven years since I was here before,” which would roughly coincide with his discharge from the Army and his move to Crawford County in 1863.⁷⁶ His diary description of the trip also implied that his activities since his last visit had kept him so busy that he was unable to make the 90-mile journey from Mitchell to see his or his wife’s family. In Spencer County he renewed old acquaintances, saw his parents and siblings, visited neighbors, attended a lodge meeting, and “talked insurance to many but can do no work at all.”⁷⁷

McIntire’s involvement with the *Commercial* did not begin with his assumption of ownership in 1872. On at least one occasion he had been a contributor to the paper: “I wrote an article for the Mitchell Commercial in answer to the circular of McCoy, Laswell, and Bates. Rev. Mr. Haws also wrote one.”⁷⁸ The *Commercial* had come into existence in 1866 when it replaced the short-lived *Mitchell Republican*, started by J. M.

Griffin, lasting only six months—the paper, not the proprietor—due to his having “very little finesse in his writings,” and the consequential unpopularity of his editorials.⁷⁹

Griffin had brought a press from Vincennes, Indiana, to publish his paper, and two gentlemen named Woodward and Rumrill used it to launch the *Commercial* in February 1866 after the demise of the *Republican*. The *Commercial* was sold just four months later to Mitchell educators Simpson Burton, J. K. Howard, and Frank H. King. They kept the *Commercial* going for about a year and then turned it over to Charles. G. Berry, who printed the paper in an office in the Lincoln House, located on the south side of Main Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets in downtown Mitchell.⁸⁰

As there is no surviving diary from McIntire for the year 1872, nor are there any other substantive records available to provide details on his acquisition of the paper, it is not known with whom McIntire negotiated to obtain ownership or on what terms, nor is it clear if McIntire purchased it himself or had a group of investors. McIntire did have prior dealings with Berry, which McIntire recorded in his diary during his insurance-selling days that he “settled up with Berry and got him to do some printing for us.”⁸¹ Another draw for McIntire to take on the *Commercial* might have been that in addition to the revenue generated from subscriptions and advertisements he could also do printing work to supplement any income he might derive directly from the paper.⁸²

It was eight months from the time that McIntire wrote in November 1871 that he was “trying to buy out the Mitchell Commercial office” until he assumed actual ownership and editorship of the paper in July 1872 at age 40. *The Indianapolis News* announced the change this way: “C. G. Berry has withdrawn from the Mitchell Commercial, and is succeeded by Dr. McIntire.”⁸³ The facts-only framing of this event in the *News* failed to do justice to the impact of this career change on McIntire personally

and on his family. Granted, in many ways, he was simply trading the busyness of one business for another, but for the most part it was more likely that McIntire would be at the dinner table and sleeping in his own bed each night.

If McIntire treated this opportunity as he did his studies in medical school, his service in the Army, his insurance business, and his other entrepreneurial efforts, it follows that he would have given his best to editing and printing his paper, which included getting and keeping subscribers, finding advertisers and local items to print, securing the supplies to print each week, and meeting weekly print deadlines. He even moved the location of the *Commercial* from Lincoln House, where Berry had established it, to “a small brick building next door,” which implies that McIntire’s place of business was still located on the south side of Main Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets.⁸⁴ While McIntire’s time at the *Commercial* ran from July 1872 to May 1883, with the exception of a one-year hiatus in 1875–1876 when he worked in the U.S. Mail Service, of the estimated 500 issues edited and published by him during that time, only 103 have survived to the present day: four dated March 6, 1873; March 23, 1876; June 1, 1876; and September 14, 1876, respectively; and 99 from the period between December 30, 1880, and December 28, 1882.⁸⁵

Only McIntire’s 1878 diary coincides with his *Mitchell Commercial* days, and that record also included entries for the first 10 days of 1879. This section of the Summer chapter in his history explores McIntire’s newspaper years through the combined lens of his 1878 diary and the surviving issues of the *Commercial*, primarily from 1880 to 1882. Comparing McIntire’s diary and newspaper writing uncovered some intriguing commonalities.⁸⁶ These included McIntire’s politics and his sense of social justice and civic responsibility; the weekly process of writing, financing, and printing his newspaper;

rivalry among newspapers in Lawrence and surrounding counties; and the implications of personal interests and family affairs for his public life.

Before exploring these themes individually, it is useful to note some details of his diary writing in 1878 and the general particulars of his newspaper. Pulled in as many directions as he was, it is not surprising that McIntire's diary entries for that year were brief, averaging 35 words per day. His most frequent diary theme was the weather, and entries also featured matter-of-fact descriptions of meetings, trips to nearby towns, the occasional house call to see a patient, and the printing of his paper, his second-most-common diary theme in 1878.⁸⁷

The *Mitchell Commercial*, as published by McIntire, with the name of the paper denoted in small capital letters therein, rendered as COMMERCIAL, was a four-page, seven-column weekly, issued every Thursday.⁸⁸ Typically, pages one and four of his paper contained national and international news, congressional or state-legislature summaries, feature stories, home and farm tips, health advice, poetry, and market prices for commodities and livestock. Page two was reserved for McIntire's editorial columns, one-liners, jokes, school and church notes, and paid advertisements. Page three contained local news, railroad timetables, and more advertisements.⁸⁹

Comparing earlier issues of the *Commercial* to the editions of 1880–1882, the number of columns remained constant, but the typefaces of the mastheads were distinct, as were the spellings of *Mitchell*.⁹⁰ In the 1873 and 1880–1882 editions the masthead typefaces were an identical rounded-serif style, and in 1876 the name of the paper on page one sported an old-English look. In the 1873 and 1876 examples, Mitchell was spelled with two l's, but the 1880–1882 versions of the paper spelled the name of the town as *Mitchel*, adhering to the exact spelling of the name of the person for whom the

town was named, Ormsby M. Mitchel. McIntire's insistence on using the less-common spelling of Mitchel in the *Commercial* was the source of an amusing exchange with a rival paper in Bedford. As quoted in the *Commercial*, the *Bedford Magnet* wrote: "The Mitchel COMMERCIAL still spells Mitchel with one l. McIntire is wrong—it is the first four letters that are superfluous." McIntire's rejoinder read thus: "Any town that is compelled to be in the same county as Bedford finds 'l' enough. We favor leaving off as much of it as possible."⁹¹

As for the slogan under the masthead, in the 1873 version of the paper it was "A Family Newspaper—Independent in All Things, Neutral in Nothing." The 1876 paper had no slogan, while the 1880–1881 *Commercial* had "RADICALISM IS RIGHTEOUSNESS" in small caps under the masthead. The 1882 editions have no slogan under the masthead. Another front-page feature that evolved over time was the printed, annual-subscription price. In 1873, the price was listed as "TERMS: \$2.00 a Year, in Advance." By 1876 the price was reduced but printed in all caps: "TERMS, \$1.50 IN ADVANCE," which was prominently displayed. In the 1880–1882 editions there was no price listed anywhere in those papers.

As noted by the previous example of *The Indianapolis News*, McIntire was welcomed to the profession by his fellow editors, and in one case his name was misspelled in the process. This example from the *Loogootee (Martin County, IN) Times*, illustrated both: "We are pleased to see the name of our friend U.S. [*sic*] McIntire at the editorial helm of the Mitchell Commercial. The Commercial is a lively local paper, and the editor is a gentleman in every sense of the word."⁹² The editor of the *Ellettsville (Monroe County, IN) Sun* gave this commentary upon meeting McIntire: "Among the

several new acquaintances we made at Bloomington Saturday, was that of Dr. E. S. McIntire, editor of the Mitchell *Commercial*. He is quite an amiable and social man.”⁹³

Once McIntire was in the editorial chair, he lost little time in voicing his political allegiance. In 1873 he included in his paper a reprint from the *Toledo (OH) Blade* that mirrored his perspective on the difference between Democrats and Republicans:

We have heretofore called attention to the difference between Republicans and Democrats in their methods of treating corruption within their own ranks. The Republican party [*sic*] has shown no mercy to its corrupt members, whenever proof could be presented showing the least taint of corruption. They have expelled members of Congress [and] they never stop to inquire the politics of an officer whom they suspect of guilt. But when has the Democratic party [*sic*] pursued this course? [It] looks as though the Democrats ha[ve] been at their old white-washing business.⁹⁴

And proof that the *Commercial* was in fact a “lively paper” from the start was a reprint in the *Jasper (Dubois County, IN) Weekly Courier* of one of McIntire’s editorials from the same year. McIntire was critical of former Vice President Schuyler Colfax for taking cash gifts from a constituent for whom Colfax later used his influence to help get a renewal of a lucrative government contract. “The Commercial is not in the white-washing business and cannot justify Colfax,” McIntire wrote.⁹⁵

Other early examples that McIntire kept active both in his new profession and in his prior business interests included his taking a trip in October 1872 to Dubois County to look at a coal deposit, as reported by the *Jasper Weekly Courier*: “The Dr., being a geologist, was highly delighted with the prospect of Mitchell being shortly connected by rail with the region of iron making coal, and pronounced our coal very superior in that respect.”⁹⁶ Some months later he attended the January 1873 inaugural meeting of the Indiana Editorial Association, where he was listed as a charter member.⁹⁷ Further indications that McIntire continued to promote the building of the railroad included his

public support of the tax to fund the project and his criticism of lawyers who had successfully won an injunction stopping construction while the legality of the tax was reviewed in the courts. He contrasted his motives with those of contesting attorneys: “We may differ in regard to the late law with some lawyers, but they are talking for a fee, whilst our advice is given *pro bono publico*.”⁹⁸

Like a boating trip on a summer’s morning, McIntire found relatively smooth sailing in the first two-plus years of his time at the *Commercial*. He was growing in his professional reputation and influence as a publisher and journalist, and the successive Republican administrations of Lincoln, Johnson, and Grant provided top cover for the brand of Radicalism he promoted in his paper, which included the elimination of slavery by constitutional means, equal rights and treatment of the races, woman suffrage, and higher wages and better working conditions for laborers.⁹⁹ He also had more time at home, and his youngest child John was born in 1873.¹⁰⁰ However, a seemingly out-of-nowhere electrical storm was about to sidetrack him in early 1875, blowing him off course for a time and leaving him to again live out the MacIntyre clan mantra: *Per ardua* (through difficulty).

U.S. Railway Mail Service

McIntire left no personal record that foreshadowed or offered a meaningful explanation of his seemingly abrupt departure from the helm of the *Mitchell Commercial* in early 1875. At this point an outside observer might have concluded that his life was finally settling down into a predictable yet rewarding ritual. But something was amiss, and a few clues point to the timing of this detour but not the details. The first was an announcement in the *Bedford Star* on March 6, 1875: “We learn that the Mitchell

Commercial is to change proprietors, but who the coming man is we can not find out. He has a fortune waiting for him, whoever he is.”¹⁰¹ A week later the *Star* added an even-more-terse bit of news: “James W. Glover is working on the Mitchell Commercial.”¹⁰² McIntire, in his 1876 diary, the first year since 1871 from which a diary survives, indicated not only the timing of his departure from the day-to-day operations of the *Commercial*, but also what he had been doing in the meantime. On January 17, 1876, he wrote: “Have been in the mail service eleven months today,” which meant he began that employment on February 17, 1875.

Why McIntire found himself in the mail service after less than three years of running the *Commercial* has yet to be definitively established. His 1876 diary described his postal work and corresponding travels in great detail, but nowhere therein is an explanation of why he made the decision to leave the *Commercial*. While it is not known what McIntire earned from his newspaper, his financial-account register in his 1876 diary showed that he received \$51.08 on January 2 and another \$40 on January 17, for an approximate monthly salary with the Mail Service of \$90, which equates to \$2,021.82 in 2015.¹⁰³ The following day he wrote in his diary that he “payed [*sic*] Kelly \$25 on an old debt [and] am trying to get out of debt,” but he offered no explanation of who Kelly was, what the debt was for, nor how much remained to be paid.¹⁰⁴ He might have had other debts as well, which could have added to the pressure on McIntire to increase his *Commercial* income quickly in early 1875 or find alternate employment. Apparently, he chose the latter.

The U.S. Railway Mail Postal Service, referred to by McIntire as the “Mail Service,” carried its first mail by rail on December 5, 1832, on a run from Lancaster to West Chester, Pennsylvania.¹⁰⁵ Initially, mail was transported in sealed pouches or sacks

on routes between Philadelphia, Boston, and Washington, DC.¹⁰⁶ Gradually, the network expanded, as did the duties of clerks, who accompanied the mail and sorted and processed it on moving trains.¹⁰⁷

Around the mid-1870s, multicar mail trains came into existence for shuttling mail between major cities, and each car was assigned two or more mail clerks, depending on the amount of mail to be processed.¹⁰⁸ In addition to the big cities of the East, railway post-office lines were also established in St. Louis and Cincinnati, and by 1876, when McIntire worked in the Mail Service, there were eight divisions in the mail-by-rail system.¹⁰⁹

McIntire never indicated how he was made aware of job openings with the Mail Service, but he could have observed mail clerks at work during his many travels by train as part of his work as a newspaperman. Journalists received free passes to ride on trains at that time, so McIntire could ride as often as he pleased. One such complimentary ticket from November 1882 for the Ohio & Mississippi line survives among McIntire's personal papers.¹¹⁰ McIntire was described by friends and acquaintances as witty, genial, sociable, brilliant, and well-liked, so he would not have had trouble engaging a working mail clerk in conversation on the train to learn about his experiences or possible employment opportunities.¹¹¹ He was known to strike up conversations with the individuals he met on the train, eminent and otherwise, the most notable of which was Henry Ward Beecher, well-known abolitionist, clergyman, reformer, and lecturer.¹¹²

To what degree this career change was discussed between Margaret and Elihu is not recorded. It would again involve his being away from home for days at a time, similar to his insurance work, but the working conditions, set schedule, and steady salary of the mail job differed from life as a traveling salesman.

In the early pages of his 1876 diary, McIntire provided thick description of the world of a train-based clerk in the Mail Service. His assignment was to work the St. Louis-Cincinnati run, a one-way distance of 350 miles that a train could cover in about 14 hours.¹¹³ Mitchell was closer to Cincinnati than to St. Louis; it took five hours to get to Cincinnati by train and eight hours to reach St. Louis from Mitchell. A typical work cycle began when McIntire would get on the train at Mitchell about 4 p.m. and head east to Cincinnati as a passenger. Three hours later, at Milan, Indiana, about 100 miles east of Mitchell, he would move to the mail car and begin his work, sorting and processing mail. Two hours later, about 9 p.m., the train would arrive in Cincinnati, and McIntire and his fellow crewmen would stay at Madison House.¹¹⁴ Employees had all day to themselves in Cincinnati, stayed the night, and reported about 7 a.m. the next day to the train station for the return trip to St. Louis. The westbound train, which passed through Mitchell, would arrive about 9:30 p.m. in St. Louis, and McIntire went to his hotel, which he did not name in his diary, but two favorite restaurants nearby, Sprague & Butters and the Commercial, were amply mentioned.¹¹⁵ The crew spent the next day in St. Louis, stayed a second night at the hotel, and reported for work at 7 a.m. the following day. McIntire remained at his post as the eastbound train passed through Mitchell until it reached Milan, where he would alight, catch a westbound train for Mitchell, and arrive home about midnight. Sixteen hours later, he would again get on the train at 4 p.m. for Cincinnati and start a new four-day cycle.¹¹⁶

For McIntire, the schedule was taxing on a number of levels. The work itself alternated between light and heavy, and most of the time McIntire was on his feet for the entire 14-hour journey between Cincinnati and St. Louis. The comforts available on the mail car varied, and if it was an old car, McIntire described the work as “disagreeable.”¹¹⁷

A stove in the mail car provided heat when the weather was cold, but sometimes it was warm enough in the winter that it was not needed.¹¹⁸ He experienced some “rheumatism in my shoulder,” possibly inflamed from the constant lifting of heavy sacks of mail, and he had a relapse of his “bowel trouble.”¹¹⁹ All of these variables could combine to make a disagreeable old mail car seem even more “disagreeable.”

However, what might have worn on McIntire the most seemed to be the separation from his family. On January 9, 1876, his 44th birthday, he wrote in his diary from Cincinnati, “I wanted badly to be home today but could not be,” and two days later, while in St. Louis, he added, “I am always lonesome in the city.” One remedy for missing his family was to have one or more of his children meet his train when it stopped in Mitchell to bring him his lunch. But on occasion McIntire’s family did not know when the train was coming through Mitchell, and he passed by without seeing them.¹²⁰ When he was home, two days out of each week, it was partial days at best. But he did manage to keep up with local politics, work on a geological report with his colleague, Dr. Moses Elrod, attend Masonic council meetings, and approach landowners about leasing their land for its kaolin deposits, a white-clay substance that is used in making ceramics.¹²¹

The daylong stays in St. Louis and Cincinnati were challenging for McIntire during his mail-service days. To kill time he would read, visit acquaintances in both cities, and on one occasion he walked across the bridge over the Mississippi to East St. Louis to make a house call to a sick friend, Wheeler Putnam, who had “a severe attack of erysipelas” (a skin rash).¹²² Other free-time activities for McIntire included attending lectures in both cities, visiting with a geologist to discuss fossils, going to the public library, and shopping for books or gifts for his family, once paying two dollars for a pair of shoes for his 17-year-old daughter Ella.¹²³

On February 2, 1876, just two weeks before completing one year as a railway postal worker, McIntire approached a Mr. French at the Cincinnati office for permission to attend Indiana's statewide Republican convention to be held a few weeks later.¹²⁴ The request would have involved granting McIntire some time off, which apparently was especially important to him during this presidential-election year. Three days later he described in his diary events that took place when his work cycle brought him back to Cincinnati: "[I] found a notification of dismissal awaiting me, so I bid farewell to the U.S. Mail Service."¹²⁵

Exploring Options and a Return to the *Commercial*

McIntire expressed no emotion in his diary over being sacked from the Mail Service, but he did note the following day that he tried to meet with a Mr. McGinniss, to get an explanation. The man at first avoided him, but McIntire persisted and was told by McGinniss that he would not do anything to secure McIntire's "restoration."¹²⁶ Neither could McIntire get in touch with Mr. French, who "was not in the city."¹²⁷ The next day McIntire wrote that "Gus Greenland has been appointed in my place," and from that day forward he made only one oblique reference to his dismissal, that he "went to Bedford to see some men in regard to claims against the Cincinnati office."¹²⁸ He remained silent in subsequent diary entries about anything that might have come of the "claims" he mentioned, and he wrote nothing further about his firing or any other details regarding his time in the Mail Service. Prior entries in McIntire's 1876 diary offered no hint that his supervisors were unhappy with his work or that he had not done everything that was asked of him.

True to McIntire's matter-of-fact, practical nature, he wasted no time in his diary lamenting his loss of employment. On the same day that he could get no audience with French regarding his dismissal from the Mail Service, while he was in Cincinnati he visited Hamilton Road Pottery to learn "many facts" about kaolin.¹²⁹ As previously noted, McIntire had been exploring his options with kaolin and had considered leasing land where it was deposited and opening a mine with some business partners.¹³⁰ Within days of returning to Mitchell, McIntire looked at other kaolin sites for possible lease or purchase.¹³¹ But not satisfied that kaolin was his only option, on his first full day back home McIntire wrote: "I sent Rollins for my Gordon press and am going to open a job office."¹³² He elaborated neither on who Rollins was nor where his press had been located during his time in the Mail Service, but it was apparently his intention to try to generate income through job printing by producing circulars, dodgers, notecards, letterheads, tickets, and posters for a number of merchants, professionals, politicians, and tradespeople.¹³³ At the same time McIntire continued in earnest his work with Dr. Elrod on an extensive geological report of Orange County, a project that he had worked on intermittently while in the Mail Service and now to which he could give more attention.¹³⁴ And to top off this post-postal flurry of activity, McIntire also explored the possibility of resuming his newspaper work, either as editor of the Bedford-based *Lawrence Gazette* or his former paper, the *Mitchell Commercial*.¹³⁵

Ever since McIntire had left the *Commercial* in February 1875, the paper could not seem to keep an editor for any significant length of time. Replacement editor James Glover did not last long. The *Lawrence Gazette* remarked on June 3, 1875, that "the Mitchell Commercial comes to us with a new face—the face of John Robinson."¹³⁶ How long Robinson was with the *Commercial* has not been pinpointed, but the one surviving

issue of the *Commercial* from 1875, dated November 25, lists William H. Edwards as its editor, which suggests that Edwards assumed the post sometime between June and November of that year.¹³⁷ When McIntire returned from his yearlong, rail-riding odyssey, Edwards was still editor of the *Commercial*.

As his fate was deliberated by the stockholders of the *Commercial*, and while his friends in the *Gazette* office lobbied him to edit that paper, McIntire was busy printing “some [hand]bills for the colored Masonic festival,” running off circulars for a customer in nearby Orleans, and printing “noteheads” and envelopes for the local Masonic council.¹³⁸ During this transition period McIntire attended the convention for which he had requested time off from the Mail Service. Also while in Indianapolis he and Dr. Elrod spent time with Professor Cox, the state geologist, who helped them identify many of the Orange County fossils they were collecting as part of their geological report that was nearing completion.¹³⁹

On March 6, 1876, McIntire met with the stockholders of the *Commercial* and purchased the interest of H. L. Kimberlin, a fellow Mitchell physician, for 65 dollars, giving 35 in cash and a note for 30, which gave McIntire majority control of the paper upon the condition that McIntire retain the printer who was working in the shop. The result of the arrangement was that McIntire was to “take possession of the *Commercial*” as of March 9.¹⁴⁰ McIntire helped Edwards with some local items for his last edition as editor, and McIntire made final “preparations to go to work in good earnest on the newspaper.”¹⁴¹

McIntire did not record his wife’s reaction to either his dismissal from the Mail Service or his return to the helm of the *Commercial*. But as McIntire worked to reestablish himself in his former post—paring down his subscription list, “making it

beautifully small,” to include only those who actually paid for the privilege of reading his paper, and rebuilding his job-printing business—Margaret and the children might not have seen their husband and father much more than when he worked and lived away from home.¹⁴²

As he resumed his tenure as editor and proprietor of the *Commercial*, McIntire was optimistic: “[I] think the Commercial is going to take pritty [*sic*] fairly with the people.”¹⁴³ That positive attitude was tested within days, as he exulted and lamented at the same time in his private record: “Got a few subscribers, find money very scarce.”¹⁴⁴ Two things might have perked him up, however. The first was the completion of his “Geological Survey of Orange County,” compiled with Dr. Elrod, which was “sixty-one pages of legal cap in length.”¹⁴⁵ The report was well received by the geological community, cited by scholars then and now, and was further testament to McIntire’s versatility as a scientist and scholar.¹⁴⁶ The second was the warm expressions of welcome from his colleagues as he returned to the profession, which constituted the majority of clippings he saved and placed into his 1876 diary:

We notice that Dr. McIntire has assumed the editorial management of the Mitchell *Commercial*. The Dr. wields a ready pen, is a clever gentleman whom we cheerfully welcome back to his old calling, in which he has hosts of personal friends.¹⁴⁷

Last week the Mitchell Commercial changed hands—W. H. Edwards surrendering it to E. S. McIntire, a former editor of the same paper, and a newspaperman of ability.¹⁴⁸

The name of Dr. Elihu S. McIntire again flaunts at the mast-head of the Mitchell Commercial, and it is with pleasure that we welcome him back to his old post. The Dr. is a fluent writer and will infuse into the Commercial that vitality of yore.¹⁴⁹

The name of E. S. McIntire again floats at the head of the Mitchell Commercial, after an absence of twelve months. One only has to glance at the Commercial to know on which ‘side of the fence it is on’ politically.¹⁵⁰

This last observation by the *Bedford Mirror* offered a reminder of how important politics was to McIntire, as well as how partisan his views were and how freely he shared them in his paper. Also, having described McIntire's one-year sabbatical with the Mail Service, this chapter resumes the comparison of his 1878 diary to the content of his newspaper and explores how the themes of politics, social justice, and civic responsibility emerged in both records.

Politics, Social Justice, and Civic Responsibility

Recall that in the editions of the *Commercial* published later in McIntire's tenure as its editor the masthead included the phrase, "RADICALISM IS RIGHTEOUSNESS." In his newspaper McIntire freely associated himself with the Radicals, a powerful wing of the post-Civil War Republican Party, which identified "the Democratic Party with slavery and treason, mak[ing] Republican control of the national government a patriotic necessity."¹⁵¹ His editorial slant reflected sympathy for its politics:

Whenever public affairs call for a steady hand and statesmanlike management the people instinctively turn to the Republican party [*sic*]. They have learned that the party can be relied on in every emergency, and that it is the only political organization in the country based on principles that do not vary with the changes of the moon.¹⁵²

Nearly every edition of the *Commercial* from 1880 to 1882 contained comments extolling the virtues of the Republican Party, as well as its local, statewide, and national candidates for office.

McIntire's acknowledged political affiliation for the *Commercial* followed a pattern of partisanship in newspaper publishing that persisted after the Civil War. As discussed in the literature review, many papers of the period were given to staunchly supporting one of the two major political parties in the U.S. However, editorial

partisanship in newspapers began to decline in the late 1870s, giving way to more independent and nonaffiliated perspectives.¹⁵³ Whether or not this nationwide trend was a factor, McIntire did give his “Radicalism is Righteous” tagline less prominence by moving it from the masthead on page one to the top of the editorial section on page two, beginning with the January 5, 1882, edition of the *Commercial*.

Regardless of the placement of his signature tagline, McIntire toted high the banner of the Republican cause, praising the Gallant Old Party, which today is known as the Grand Old Party, as “the great party of right, freedom, justice, patriotism, union and honesty,” while at the same time getting in his digs at the opposition.¹⁵⁴ “We have no desire to hurt the feelings of any Democrat,” he wrote in March 1881, “but can not refrain from remarking that all branches of the government are Republican: Executive, Judicial, and Legislative.”¹⁵⁵ Some months later in the aftermath of President James A. Garfield’s assassination and the elevation of Vice President Chester A. Arthur to chief executive, McIntire observed, “‘What is the new administration to be?’ Is a question often asked in the last week. We can answer it in one word: Republican.”¹⁵⁶

Even the lame-duck GOP majority in Washington felt McIntire’s pithy pen in early 1881. “One week from to-morrow the present Congress will be no more,” he wrote. “A more useless body never existed.”¹⁵⁷ In the *Commercial* he also targeted the Greenback Party, which supported the use of paper money over a bullion-backed monetary system to raise prices, protect farmers, and make debts easier to pay.¹⁵⁸ Wrote McIntire of the Greenbackers: “The more they can’t do, in managing a small business, the more they think they know of national financiering.”¹⁵⁹

McIntire was often critical of sitting or aspiring Democrats, calling candidate for Congress Luther Benson a “drunk,” and home-district Congressman Tom Cobb a

“cipher,” but he was not above endorsing a Democratic candidate for office. In a race for Lawrence County highway superintendent he backed Lewis Murray, concluding that Lewis’s Democratic Party affiliation “is the only bad thing about him.”¹⁶⁰

McIntire’s newspaper also gave him a forum to express his views on social justice and civic responsibility. This 1881 observation in the *Commercial* captures the essence of his concept of the role of government in maintaining a stable society: “The prime object of governments among men is the protection of the poor and the weak, the rich are able to take care of themselves, and they are always able to protect themselves.”¹⁶¹ McIntire added that “as a journalist it is our desire to see that justice is done to all classes of professions.”¹⁶² Through his paper he called for that justice by advocating for prohibition, the taxation of churches, and compulsory education.¹⁶³ McIntire accomplished this in his columns either by pointing out what he saw as dangerous thinking and action by powerful interests or by drawing attention to commendable behavior by the underprivileged.

McIntire advocated a partnership what would benefit both the rich and the poor, writing that “there is one principal of division of property that is just and right—Tax the rich for public improvements, which benefit the rich, and pay out the tax to the poor for labor.”¹⁶⁴ Another cause for which McIntire labored long and hard was passage of a railroad tax, which he believed would finance the extension of existing railways or the construction of new lines, bringing goods and services more quickly and cheaply to lower-income farmers, laborers, and the families of Lawrence County. As noted previously, McIntire also stood to benefit financially from railroad expansion, and that probably accounted at least in part for his passion to pass the tax. In the March 31, 1881, issue of the *Commercial*, McIntire faulted special-interest groups for the defeat of the tax initiative, and he appeared to take personally the defeat by alternately praising or

criticizing a number of town residents by name for their vote for or against the railroad tax.¹⁶⁵

A champion of fair and equal justice among the races, McIntire used his paper to support the Black community, which numbered 831 of 18,543 residents of Lawrence County at that time.¹⁶⁶ Using the vernacular of the period, he wrote that “the colored people of our town stand much in need of a new school house,” and he noted several months later that the same school was the best in the state.¹⁶⁷ He observed that “the colored men who have been employed on the L. N. A. & C. work train are doing well, mak[ing] good reliable hands,” and he considered newsworthy the “grand pilgrimage” to Lincoln’s tomb by “the colored people of the country” to commemorate the 19th anniversary of emancipation in 1881.¹⁶⁸ He decried the 1876 killing of 20 Black men in Mississippi by a sheriff’s posse when not a single white was hurt, as reported by the Associated Press, calling it “inhuman butchery of defenseless men,” and he applauded the “colored resistance” to a Ku Klux Klan lynch mob in nearby Paoli that was looking to harm a man named Armstrong simply “on account of his color.”¹⁶⁹

In contrast to McIntire’s passion for his party, politics, and social justice, as manifested in his editorials and selection of news items in his paper, few of those sentiments found their way to the pages of his diary. There were but 41 references to politics in his personal record of 1878, and most of these were passing mentions of some kind, such as his attendance at party meetings, passage of the Silver Act, how “quiet” Election Day was, election results, or a local professor’s refusal to vote, indicating that he (McIntire) was also going to publish the story in the *Commercial*. Understandably, McIntire also commented in his diary on what he saw as poor prospects for Republican

candidates, pleasure at his party's carrying all the county races but two, and the loss of his candidate for judge.¹⁷⁰

Surprisingly, the most common references to politics in his 1878 diary were those that had financial implications for him professionally—and personally—in the form of paid announcements in his paper for candidates running for office, and the retention of his services by both Republican *and* Democratic candidates to print their campaign placards, which McIntire referred to as “tickets.”¹⁷¹ Punctuating the editor's financial challenges was this announcement in the *Commercial*: “We have on hand a good supply of first-class puffs for candidates, ranging in price from one cent to 75 cents per line, the very whopping big lies written to order, at one dollar per line.”¹⁷²

As with politics, references to race and social issues were scant in McIntire's 1878 diary. However, he did mention printing posters for two Black-sponsored events: a speech by a Reverend Jones at the “Colored Meth[odist] Church” and an oyster supper at the “Colored Baptist” church.¹⁷³ Having nonwhite clients was not limited to 1878, however. As already noted, he also wrote about printing “some bills for the Colored Masonic festival” in his 1876 diary.¹⁷⁴ And of only four documented instances where he attended some kind of Sunday service in 1878, one was when he “went out to Johnston's pond to a Negro baptising [*sic*].”¹⁷⁵

Writing, Financing, and Printing the *Commercial*

A second significant theme that emerged in McIntire's paper and his diary was the process of publishing the *Commercial* each week. While a four-page weekly might not seem like much work by today's standards, the average issue of the *Commercial* contained nearly 20,000 words.¹⁷⁶ This number becomes even more impressive when

compared to the first four pages of a 2013 issue of *The Salt Lake Tribune*, which totaled but 5,445 words.¹⁷⁷ How much of the copy McIntire himself wrote is unknown because many of the articles and anecdotes in his paper were attributed to other newspapers, magazines, and reports. One amusing example, from the *Bloomington Courier*, a rival newspaper in neighboring Monroe County, illustrates that McIntire was not perfect in citing his sources:

The Mitchell Commercial has a new editor. We wish the gentleman, Mr. McIntire, success, financially, and also hope that hereafter when he clips original matter from the *Courier* he will give us proper credit. Those ‘Post Office Rules,’ standing out in bold relief on the first page of his paper last week, first appeared in the *Courier*.¹⁷⁸

The *Courier* may well have been one of McIntire’s many exchanges that he mentioned in his 1878 diary.

Gathering content for his newspaper was the most common activity he did on Sundays, according to his 1878 diary. He noted as much on Sunday, May 5: “Put in most of the day in reading papers and looking over my exchanges and clipping items.” A similar entry from August 11 reads thus: “Clipped from my exchanges many items, and got copy ready for next week.”¹⁷⁹ McIntire’s exchanges with other editors might have had the indirect effect of further boosting his community in the sense that the more material from other papers he reprinted in the *Commercial*, the more likely their editors would reciprocate, and readers from other papers would hear about the good things being done and said in Mitchell.

Another source of material for McIntire’s paper was preset blocks of type that contained interesting news items that could be easily inserted into the print layout. These blocks, known as “ready-print,” “patent sheets,” or “boilerplate,” were popularized in the 1860s by Ansel Nash Kellogg, a Wisconsin publisher, and the ready-print industry was

well established by the time McIntire began printing his newspaper in 1872.¹⁸⁰ He used this service regularly in the *Commercial*.¹⁸¹

The *Courier*'s comment wishing McIntire financial success was likely not lost on him, for he certainly did not become rich as the proprietor of his newspaper. Boorstin observed that the main challenges of the booster press were "to get paper, get news, and get paid."¹⁸² Lack of revenue from the paper was a common lament in McIntire's 1878 diary. He mentioned the subject 62 times during that year, mostly along the lines of borrowing money, collecting a debt, seeking new subscribers, and not having enough funds to publish his paper. Here are some examples: "Was somewhat disappointed in getting money," "Collected no money," "No money coming in," "Still no money," and even, "Raised money by hook and crook, got my paper out."¹⁸³ This last direct quote captured very well the struggle to publish the *Commercial* every week and in a broader sense McIntire's persistence in nearly everything he attempted; thus, it was selected as the main title for this history.

Increasing paid readership was one of the strategies McIntire used to grow the circulation of his paper, which according to a reference book from the period was at least 500.¹⁸⁴ There were 32 references to subscriptions between his 1876 and 1878 diaries, and he would often mention new subscribers by name, a common practice in small-circulation newspapers: "John Lynn subscribed for the Commercial today," and "I got a new subscriber, Alex Reed, and collect[ed] another from Sam Denny."¹⁸⁵ McIntire occasionally did the same in the pages of the *Commercial*, announcing citizens who made what he called the "White List" of faithful subscribers: "William Erwin, Sr., who is the oldest inhabitant, was in to see us Monday, and renewed his subscription to the COMMERCIAL," and "John C. Albert, of Paoli, renewed subscription to the

COMMERCIAL.”¹⁸⁶ It follows that McIntire’s “black list” would contain the names of subscribers who failed to do their duty so support the paper—and by extension, to boost Mitchell’s prosperity—by keeping their subscriptions current.

McIntire often alternated between guilt and humor in trying to garner new paying readers. “Everybody reads the COMMERCIAL,” he wrote. “Some do not pay for it, preferring to sponge the reading from their neighbor.”¹⁸⁷ In the December 29, 1881, edition of the *Commercial*, he cautioned, “We wish you a happy new-year, but don’t steal the reading of the COMMERCIAL for 1882, \$1.50 per yr.” And appealing to the welfare of readers’ eternal souls, he wrote:

When you come to the election next Monday call here and subscribe to the COMMERCIAL, if you are not a subscriber, renew if your time is out, and especially call and pay up if you are behind. This is the year the world is to come to an end and in that case you will badly need a printer’s receipt in your business. It will help you to pass St. Peter’s gate.¹⁸⁸

McIntire was not alone in his appeals to readers’ sense of honor and duty to support their local paper. His rival papers also included calls to pay the subscription fee, especially when publishers reluctantly raised their rates, and one competitor, J. T. Biggs of the *Mitchell Times*, was even willing to take wood or wheat as payment.¹⁸⁹ In the *Commercial* McIntire reprinted this humorous item from the *Philadelphia News* to emphasize the financial straits of most editors: “A burglar got into the house of a country editor the other night. After a terrible struggle the editor succeeded in robbing him.”¹⁹⁰

Advertising was a main source of revenue for McIntire’s paper, and like his small-town newspaper counterparts in the Midwest, nearly half the space in the *Commercial* was devoted to commercial announcements.¹⁹¹ Much of pages two and three of the *Commercial* each week was reserved for ads, and he filled the space with announcements for many of the products commonly sold at the time: Lydia E. Pinkham’s

Vegetable Compound, “For All Female Complaints”; St. Jacob’s Oil, “the Great German Remedy for Rheumatism”; Dr. J. B. Marchisi’s Uterine Catholicon, “Cure for Female Complaints”; Gray’s Specific Medicine, “Cure for Seminal Weakness”; and Dr. Bull’s Cough Syrup.¹⁹² These ads appeared in the *Commercial* alongside those for local merchants such as physicians, attorneys, undertakers, railways, regional and East Coast newspapers, insurance agents, and jewelers. Most advertisers were cash-paying customers, but McIntire would occasionally take payment in kind for ad space, as did many of his peers.¹⁹³ In fact, McIntire received the very datebook he used as his diary for 1878 from a merchant in exchange for an announcement. He wrote on January 10 of that year: “Got this diary from Anderson for a notice.”

Recognizing how critical advertising was to the lifeblood of newspapers, McIntire ran this amusing anecdote:

The newspapers published that Jessie Baldwin of Youngstown, Ohio, had a quantity of gold in his house. Thieves went and blowed Baldwin’s safe open and carried off his gold to the amount of \$30,000. This is additional evidence of the value of newspaper advertising.¹⁹⁴

While commercial ad space in the *Commercial* was generally limited to specific sections of pages two and three, McIntire would typically sprinkle small advertisements into his editorial columns and local-news briefs. This practice rankled one subscriber, who wrote:

I must confess, Mr. Editor, you have a fashion for sandwiching up the meager items of news so between recommendations of the fabulous properties of some patent medicine, that I never begin to read a funeral notice without a suspicion that it is going to end with a eulogy on St. Jacob’s Oil or Holman’s Liver Pad. Am tempted to deliver you a severe lecture just here on that same abominable practice of yours, but I must contain myself to the subject of this letter...¹⁹⁵

His plugs in the editorial section went beyond patent medicines, however. McIntire would also boost his own paper, such as this comment from August 11, 1881: “Persons desiring a Lawrence County newspaper are requested to take a careful look at the

COMMERCIAL. If you want the best, send us \$1.50.” And in the June 9, 1881, *Commercial*, McIntire wrote the following: “It is our intention to make the COMMERCIAL the best local paper in the county, if you want that kind of paper, just hand over the cash in advance for it.”¹⁹⁶

Hawking his own printing services, McIntire printed advertisements such as “You can get all kinds of job printing done on short notice, in neatest manner, by best workmen at the COMMERCIAL Office,” and “We would like to whisper to men who want job printing done that this is the best job office ever in Lawrence County . . . and—don’t you forget it—best printer.”¹⁹⁷

According to dozens of entries in his 1878 diary, McIntire supplemented his newspaper income by doing a brisk business in job printing in his shop. Much of this presswork and typesetting McIntire did himself—which required painstaking attention to detail—with the help of a few others, including “tramp” printers, which McIntire indicated were abundant, personal friends, and an employee named Hicks, whom he later discharged for being “drunken.” Left without a printer, McIntire decided to bring his 17-year-old daughter into the family business, writing in his diary: “I put Mary to work in the office today, intend to have her learn the trade.”¹⁹⁸

Boosting his job printing was the acquisition of a new “Alden Model” press, which McIntire described in his 1878 diary: “To-day I worked off 2500 impressions on my new press, works easier” and “Worked fifteen hundred impressions on new press in colors, does well.”¹⁹⁹ Having the ability to print in color would give McIntire greater ability to not only benefit his own business, but to also offer added prestige to his community through higher-quality printing that was now available to Mitchell residents.

At about the same time, McIntire also brought his 15-year-old son Henry into the printing operation, and the sister and brother were mentioned 20 and 16 times, respectively, in McIntire's 1878 diary as helping to clean the office, mail out the paper, set type, and do other tasks. The 1880 census is testament to Mary and Henry's portion of the workload in publishing the *Commercial*, as well as how seriously they took their role. Both listed their occupation as "Printer."²⁰⁰

Other evidence of the amount of work it took to publish the *Commercial* is found in McIntire's diary for 1878. In 45 out of the 52 weeks during the year, the paper was printed and sent out *after* its Thursday publication date. It was generally out by Friday or Saturday, but in one case it was delayed until Monday. The most common reason he noted for the press delay was there was not enough money to pay the paper bill.²⁰¹ In contrast, there were only a few mentions in the *Commercial* of delays in getting out the paper. For example, in July 1881 he wrote: "Moving our printing office interfered with the work of getting up our paper this week. Pardon us, dear reader, and we will try not have the COMMERCIAL look so much like the other county papers, in the future."²⁰² And in December 1881, he explained: "A family affliction which men only once in a lifetime are called on to endure, has been ours, and other cares have pressed us, and but little time could be given to editorial duties."²⁰³ This once-in-a-lifetime "affliction" McIntire referred to could very well have been the death of his mother, Isabel Dailey McIntire, which occurred a few weeks previously on October 13, 1881.

Rivalry Among Newspapers in Lawrence and Surrounding Counties

A theme that occurred frequently in McIntire's editorial writing was the rivalry among newspapers in Lawrence and surrounding counties. Intense competition for readers and advertisers existed among newspapers in the post-Civil War Midwest, and editors worked hard to foster loyalty to their publications.²⁰⁴ As McIntire observed, "Newspapers are like people; it takes time to get acquainted with them, but when once an attachment is formed, it is hard to break."²⁰⁵ He rarely mentioned rival papers in his 1878 diary, noting only a news item he read in the *Mitchell Times* about the death of Pope Pius IX, and a visit paid to him from "Macintosh of the Orleans *Journal*."²⁰⁶

As a general rule for the time, editorial exchanges between papers could become venomous and fierce, as they were not shy about criticizing or correcting each other. One scholar saw these interactions as a natural consequence of editors' passion for their own opinions:

The editor conceived it his function not only to print the news but also to guide his readers into the paths of right thinking And possessed of this crusading spirit, he spared no words in expressing his opinions of his opponents and their views.²⁰⁷

McIntire was no exception—especially when it came to setting the record straight on the status of his paper among the others, stating simply, for example, "The COMMERCIAL is the only official county paper—all others are frauds."²⁰⁸

Appearing to give as well as he got, McIntire saved many of his barbs for the citizens of neighboring Bedford and its newspapermen. On February 24, 1881, McIntire wrote in the *Commercial*: "The Bedford people had a masquerade ball last Tuesday night. Some of the Bedford girls look real handsome with masks on—in fact it improves their appearance."²⁰⁹ The following year he condemned Bedford editors for squabbling among

themselves over political candidates: “Shame, gentlemen, do try and show the world that decent men may run a press. Honor the profession you are in, or do it honor by quitting it.”²¹⁰ Similarly, McIntire lambasted newspaper editors in adjoining counties for “abusing each other” in the press.²¹¹

McIntire was not spared criticism by his fellow editors for his strong opinions. In his own paper he quoted a gripe from the *Bloomington Telephone*: “The Mitchel Commercial wants a law taxing churches. Next thing we know Editor McIntire will be wanting a government revenue from grave-yard lots.”²¹² In November 1881 The *Bedford Banner* announced that “McIntire of the COMMERCIAL can afford to let up on his delinquent subscribers now.” McIntire’s terse response was simply, “The COMMERCIAL never has any delinquent subscribers.”²¹³ The Fort Wayne (IN) *Daily Gazette* pulled no punches in responding to an editorial McIntire wrote in the *Commercial*. First, it quoted McIntire’s rant verbatim: “As a wrecker of party Blaine is a success. He wrecked the Republican Party in Maine as a leader there, and if he is not kicked out of the cabinet he will wreck the party in the nation.” Then the *Gazette* responded thus:

We do not know what cheerful idiot may be the editor of the Mitchell *Commercial*, but we do know that no one man, be his name Blaine or Conkling or anything else, can wreck a party built on the manhood of millions of intelligent voters. When the party gets so low down that one man can break it up, then it will be high time for its dissolution. The astute editor of the *Commercial* must not hold his breath waiting for the funeral of the Republican party.²¹⁴

These few examples of the back-and-forth between McIntire and his fellow editors demonstrate why he was credited with “pungent paragraphs and caustic editorials” in his obituary in the *Commercial*.²¹⁵

Editors on occasion would read about themselves in other papers, not only for being criticized for a position they took, but also for embarrassing or delicate situations in

which they found themselves. The *Cincinnati Enquirer* got wind of one such instance that involved McIntire and shared it with its readers. The scene was the city of Mitchell, at midnight on June 21, 1877, when mounted members of a “Vigilance Committee” bent on administering its version of frontier justice rode through town to settle an old score.

Recall that McIntire lived on the corner of Warren and Brady streets, just opposite the Methodist Episcopal church. Thomas Giles, the sexton, heard some gunfire and rang the church bell to warn the town. The *Enquirer’s* account continued:

E. S. McIntire, editor of the Mitchell Commercial, hearing the bell and thinking it a fire-alarm, with the true instincts of a newspaperman, turned out of bed, slipped into his lower garments, and went on the street. He suddenly found himself peering into the muzzle of six navy revolvers and heard a distinct order to “get up and get.” Mr. McIntire obeyed very promptly, and for the rest of the night learned what particulars he could while trembling between the sheets of his own modest couch.²¹⁶

Gratefully, no one died that night, and McIntire’s name was not on the vigilantes’ scorecard as the offender, or this history might have ended right here. The two targets of the ruffians’ ire were served a message to leave town immediately. One of them, Mose Clinton, did just that the next day, boarding a train to Cincinnati and vowing never to return. The other, James Head, chose to take his chances and remain.²¹⁷ It is not known what became of him, and it is also a pity that the June 28, 1877, edition of the *Commercial*, with McIntire’s response to the events, is lost to history. But perhaps in some small way the *Enquirer* made it up to McIntire the following year when it included “E. S. McIntire” in its list of “prominent people in our hostelryes” in December 1878 when McIntire was there on business in Cincinnati.²¹⁸

Besides compromising situations involving their rivals, editors also noticed when their foils suspended publication, perhaps recognizing that one less paper meant one less sparring partner. Wrote McIntire, “We haven’t seen the Bedford *Magnet* for lo! these

many weeks. Send it along, boys, don't be naughty."²¹⁹ And sometimes a quip could have a double meaning, especially during a dry spell, as McIntire wrote in the *Commercial* on September 15, 1881: "Blessings on the Bedford fair—it always brings rain."²²⁰

Showing that the door swung both ways, however, editors in Lawrence and surrounding counties also did not hesitate to praise their peers or wish them success. An already-cited, undated clipping found in McIntire's 1876 diary from the *Loogootee (IN) Times* in neighboring Martin County, welcoming him back to the editorship of the *Commercial*, serves as an example: "We are pleased to see the name of our friend U.S. [sic] McIntire at the editorial helm of the Mitchell Commercial. The Commercial is a lively local paper, and the editor is a gentleman in every sense of the word."²²¹

McIntire often reciprocated, welcoming in the May 26, 1881, edition of the *Commercial* the "new editors of the Indiana *National* in Paoli." He praised the same paper a few months later: "The Indiana *National* looks better since Bro. Greene has taken charge of its publication himself."²²² And as colleague J. V. Smith was to leave his post at the *Bedford Journal* in 1882 to be a trustee for Shawswick Township, McIntire observed that Smith would "step down from the high position of newspaper editor to dabble in the pools of politics, but it is a consolation to know that the said pools will be much purified thereby."²²³

Implications of Personal Interests and Family Affairs for his Public Life

Personal and family concerns comprised another emergent theme in McIntire's journalistic record and in his 1878 diary. These two records inform one another as they reveal complementary dimensions of McIntire's private life. Among these are his sense

of self, which included his individual interests, inclinations, and prior medical career, as well as his health and his family. By exploring these components of his innermost thoughts, it is possible to see the whole of his public life in context of the things he valued most.

The most frequent topic mentioned in McIntire's 1878 diary was the weather, which appeared in 299 of 365 entries for that year. His weather-related descriptions typically included the temperature and whether there was cloud cover, wind, or precipitation that day. Likewise, each issue of the *Commercial* examined for this study included some reference to the state of the weather and the trends seen during the previous week. At times McIntire used humor to characterize weather extremes: “‘Thomas, spell weather.’ said a school-master to one of his pupils. ‘W-i e-a-t-h-i-o-u-r, weather.’ ‘Well, Thomas, you may sit down,’ said the teacher. ‘I think this is the worst spell of weather we have had since Christmas.’”²²⁴ Other weather-related occurrences found their way into his diary and his newspaper. McIntire noted in his diary the 50 cases of sunstroke seen daily in St. Louis in the summer of 1878, and he told readers about a deadly heat wave in New York City that killed 60 in 1881.²²⁵

As McIntire exhibited his interest in the weather in the pages of the *Commercial*, the weather exercised its influence on the printing of the paper. In his 1878–1879 diaries, which described the day-by-day battle to publish each week, McIntire recorded the temperature-related inconveniences he and his small staff experienced during heat waves and cold snaps:

May 11, 1878: Too cool to work with comfort in the office.

May 13, 1878: The day was cool, we put up our stove in the office, it being too cool to work.

- July 8, 1878: Rainy and hot. We are not able to work in afternoon on account of heat.
- July 10, 1878: We worked some in the forenoon but it was so hot we could not work in afternoon.
- July 11, 1878: We have not got near all the paper up and it is too warm to work.
- July 12, 1878: Still very hot, so hot we can't work only in forenoon. Am not yet ready for press.
- July 13, 1878: I had to borrow \$6.60 of Crim to pay for paper and get it ready for press at 11 o'clock and got of most of our mail yet too hot to work if I could help it.
- July 15, 1878: Too hot to work in the printing office in afternoon.
- July 16, 1878: We work in the morning and rest in the shade in the afternoon.
- July 18, 1878: We evacuate the printing office in the heat of the day.
- January 3, 1879: We are not able to work much on account of the cold weather. 19° below zero at day light 4 at noon 6° at dark.

In no case did McIntire report experiencing weather-related delays with the mail or in obtaining needed supplies for printing. His difficulties appeared to affect only the production of the *Commercial*.

Regarding his references to himself in his paper, McIntire was generally guarded. He never used the pronoun "I," opting instead to write "the editor," "this correspondent," or occasionally "the Ohio man," in a nod to his native state. For example, he asked, "Was there an Ohio man in the cast of the Hoosier School-master?" which was a play at the local normal college.²²⁶ He generally kept his sense of humor about his position of privilege as editor of the *Commercial*. McIntire wrote, "Says the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, 'Men who are wise seek the society of those who know more than they do.' Yes, but how is an editor to be wise!"²²⁷ He also included self-deprecating observations,

such as this one: “The editor is absent this week, and if you notice any improvement in the *COMMERCIAL* it may be attributed to this fact.”²²⁸

McIntire’s strongly held personal opinions extended even to holiday observances. He wrote in his 1878 diary, “No attention [was] paid to Washington’s Birthday.”²²⁹ He made the same lament in the *Commercial* in 1881: “Washington’s Birthday was not observed, except by the school teachers.”²³⁰ He noted the same omission for Independence Day, both in his diary and his paper: “The 4th of July was not extensively celebrated here,” and “No celebration of the Fourth.”²³¹ And Thanksgiving was not much better in McIntire’s editorial eyes: “Thanksgiving day didn’t produce a very profound impression on our community.”²³² In disgust, he even called for abolishing Christmas, seeing citizens “badly abused by all kinds of ruffianism . . . bringing more crime than any day in our calendar.”²³³ McIntire’s concerns for proper holiday observances echo his values of military service, loyalty to the nation’s founders, and his professed religious faith.

McIntire’s own physical condition had long been a concern to him, certainly dating back to his resignation from the Union Army during the Civil War for health reasons.²³⁴ His training as a physician would also have made him particularly sensitive to his own aches and pains. He occasionally mentioned his health difficulties in his paper, confessing that “the wicked could maintain the purpendicular [*sic*] last Tuesday, we couldn’t, to save our sweet life.”²³⁵ And in January 1882 he wrote, “Your correspondent has had the sore eyes since November 19.”²³⁶ In contrast, his 1878 diary had references to 30 separate days of personal illness including bronchitis, diarrhea, dysentery, colic, colds, and vomiting. The physical, intellectual, and emotional demands of owning and editing a newspaper would have multiplied the long-term physical effects of his military service.

In his 1878 diary McIntire did not specifically address the impact of his busy life on his loved ones, but mentions of his family did creep into the *Commercial*'s pages. Referring to his 12-year-old Charles and 8-year-old John, he wrote: "The editor's little boys will sell the *Indianapolis News* every morning, except Monday."²³⁷ In his paper McIntire occasionally announced visitors to his home: his father Charles, from Spencer County, Indiana, and son Henry and family friend Aggie Chitty, both of whom resided in nearby Bono Township. He also recorded in his diary when he hosted guests in his home.²³⁸ His most extensive reference to his family in the *Commercial* was the obituary he ran in 1881 for his mother, Isabel Dailey McIntire, calling her a "zealous member of the Methodist Church" and noting that "her mental faculties remained bright until her last hour."²³⁹

Regarding his wife Margaret, McIntire was circumspect in both his paper and his 1878 diary. He made one oblique reference to her in the *Commercial* in an account of a local dinner party for individuals turning 50, in which "Dr. E. S. McIntire and lady" were among the guests.²⁴⁰ In his personal record for 1878 he mentioned her only twice, writing that he and his wife were dinner guests of her mother and a Mrs. Winby, respectively.²⁴¹ It is not clear why the scant references to his wife in his diary, but if his intended audience was himself and no one else, he might not have found it necessary to write extensively about Margaret because he already knew within himself how he felt about her. McIntire rarely showed strong emotions of any kind in his private writings, whether they concerned Margaret or not. Only two instances of such expressions appeared in his 1878 diary: he had a "row with Alfred Burton" without providing further details, and he called a certain lecturer an "idiot."²⁴²

Summing Up His *Commercial* Run

Over the years a number of sources offered contrasting commentary on McIntire's tenure as editor of the *Commercial*. The *Bedford Democrat* observed that the paper "flourished under his able hand."²⁴³ The *Mitchell Commercial* on separate occasions after 1883, when McIntire no longer owned or edited the paper, remarked that there was "great improvement both editorially and typographically" when he took over for C. G. Berry in 1872, and that "under his masterful hand the paper enjoyed great prosperity."²⁴⁴

Historian Dorothy Alice Stroud offered this assessment of "the versatile Dr. E. S. McIntire" and his newspaper work: "During the time he remained in charge of the paper, it was radically Republican, and, as a result, Dr. McIntire made a goodly number of friends and an equal number of enemies."²⁴⁵ One example Stroud offered regarding McIntire's ability to make enemies is a volley between McIntire and a recalcitrant reader after an election in which the Democrats emerged victorious. Here is what McIntire wrote in the *Commercial*:

A Mrs. Cox, living in Southwest Mitchell was so shocked by the horn-tooting of the victorious Democrats on Saturday night that she lived only until Tuesday. Such an infernal practice ought not to be countenanced by any civilized group of people.

A "disgruntled Democrat" who lightened their own purse to have this published in the *Commercial* the following week, wrote this rejoinder:

There is no truth whatever in the above item. The author, like the other disappointed Republicans here, is mad, and has no regard for the truth. The lady referred to died on Saturday, and his insinuation that her death was brought on by the blowing of horns is a little lower down than we imagined he could be.²⁴⁶

McIntire did his due diligence by printing the response of his detractor, but one wonders if the editor didn't derive at least a small amount of satisfaction that his opponent had to pay for the privilege.

Another journalistic dialectic involved J. T. Biggs. He was not only McIntire's colleague in Mitchell's medical community, but Biggs also ran his own newspapers, the *Bedford-Mitchell Banner* and the *Mitchell Times*, both Democratic-leaning publications, in the mid-1870s to rival McIntire's radical-Republican *Commercial*. The two men sometimes traded insults in their papers, such as this example from 1876:

Dr. McIntire, in last week's *Commercial* devoted nearly a column of foul slander, falsehood and personal abuse against Dr. J. T. Biggs. We suppose he had no occasion to publish such degrading untruth unless it occurred to him to pay Biggs the interest on that note that McIntire has owed him since April 15th, 1867. But Biggs does not propose to credit his note for such a rotten puff coming from such a rotten and disreputable source, but will give its author's history through the *BANNER* after the election is over, if it should not prove so low and degrading as to contaminate the fair fame of that paper.²⁴⁷

The specifics of McIntire's initial salvo and whether McIntire ever paid off the referred-to note that Biggs held are not known. However, the editorial exchanges of the two apparently did not have any long-term ill effects on the relationship between the families because John Bowers McIntire, Elihu's youngest son, married Elizabeth Biggs, daughter of J. T., in 1908. Incidentally, it was John and Lizzie's daughters, Margaret McIntire Rimstidt and Beulah Frances McIntire Ruch, who safeguarded McIntire's journals and arranged their transfer to my parents in 1971.

Not only was the *Commercial* a "Republican exponent for Southern Indiana," which no doubt did make enemies of many, but what McIntire may be remembered most for was the use of his newspaper "to promote the best interests of . . . the town of Mitchell and of Lawrence County, having done all in his power, by the liberal use of his paper, to forward her many interests."²⁴⁸ That is the goal that might have driven McIntire, despite health and financial setbacks, to serve as editor of the *Commercial* longer than any other person in its 60-year history, and the impact of that effort on his city and county

will be discussed presently. With that long tenure, however, came a point when McIntire decided it was time to pursue new interests and revisit old ones.

Within a year or so before he sold the *Commercial*, McIntire did three things that might have signaled that he was coming to the end of his run. First, this notice appeared in the March 9, 1882, edition of the *Commercial*: “Dr. McIntire has resumed the practice of medicine and may be found in the office with Dr. G. W. Burton during all office hours.”²⁴⁹ A month later, McIntire editorialized that “men who pay their doctor bills can always get any doctor in town to go to see their families.”²⁵⁰ Second, he inexplicably turned up in the graduating class of the Cincinnati College of Medicine and Surgery in March 1882. A newspaper clipping found among McIntire’s personal papers lists “Elihu Stevenson McIntire” as one of 10 graduates. Another of the graduates was George W. Walls, a close friend and colleague of McIntire in Mitchell. The recipient of an honorary degree was G. W. Burton, his partner in medical practice.²⁵¹ Receiving a medical degree at this point in his career as an already-successful physician might have made sense if McIntire had never actually received his M.D. following his training in Keokuk, or if he needed the degree to be considered for the pension-examining board, a post he was appointed to after he sold the *Commercial*.²⁵² Third, in January 1883 he asked his daughter Ella to be the local editor for the *Commercial* and son Henry to be publisher. But “the Doctor,” mused the *Bloomington Telephone*, “[still] furnishes the politics.”²⁵³ These three moves would have allowed McIntire to slowly rebuild his medical practice, give it additional credibility, and shift some editorial responsibilities to others in order to devote time and energy to other pursuits.

In May 1883, McIntire sold the *Commercial* to Milton N. Moore and William T. Moore, the latter nicknamed Dolly because of his small stature.²⁵⁴ The *Princeton*

(*Indiana*) *Democrat* reported on May 5 that “the Mitchell *Commercial* has been sold to W. T. Moore, who takes charge of its management next week. Its name will be changed to the Mitchell *Republican*.”²⁵⁵ No such name change took place; the *Commercial* remained the *Commercial* for about 40 more years, ending its publication in 1921.²⁵⁶ As McIntire stepped down from the *Commercial*, “weary of the routine of editorial life,” he returned to his medical practice but left the paper in good condition for the new owner, with strong advertising and a solid, paying-subscriber base.²⁵⁷ Dolly Moore became editor, but he lasted a mere five months, and the Moores sold the *Commercial* to George Z. Wood.²⁵⁸ Wood kept the paper for about year, and a succession of owners took their brief turn, making McIntire’s 10-year tenure—factoring in his Mail Service sabbatical—all that more remarkable.²⁵⁹ As shall be shown in the next chapter, McIntire maintained a cordial relationship with the *Commercial* and with a number of local papers as he pursued other business ventures, tended to farming interests, and devoted more time to his family than he had ever done previously in his life.

Summer Themes in McIntire’s Writings

This chapter has already considered several themes that emerged during McIntire’s newspaper years to include his relationship with rival papers, the day-to-day struggle to publish the paper, and his views on politics and other social issues. Two topics that merit a closer look in the closing pages of this Summer chapter are his membership in the Masonic order and his interest in astronomical events. Both of these will be explored first as to how they affected this metaphorical summer period, and second, the broader effect they had during the other seasons of his life.

McIntire's Masonic membership and related activities were noted 72 times in his diaries—three more mentions overall than even his medical practice. Nearly 85 percent of those mentions occurred in what this history calls the summertime period of McIntire's life—between 1865 and 1883. His most prolific period in the fraternal organization—if gauged by the number of mentions in his diary—was in 1871, when McIntire referred to its activities 41 times, more than half of his overall total for diary entries related to Masonry.²⁶⁰

It is not clear when McIntire first became affiliated with the Masons. His father Charles was a member of Lodge 112 in Rockport, Spencer County, Indiana, and might have encouraged his son Elihu to join.²⁶¹ In an 1891 diary entry McIntire described a visit from an old friend, John Walls, whom McIntire had “helped make a Mason of him 36 years ago.”²⁶² If McIntire's recollection was accurate, that entry referred to the year 1855, when McIntire was 23, and if he helped his friend to join the Masons at that time, then McIntire would have had to have been of their number for some time before then.²⁶³

McIntire continued that fraternal connection for nearly his entire adult life, attending lodge or chapter meetings, held on Monday nights, and paying his dues, to support the local lodge, and paying assessments to support the families of deceased Masons.²⁶⁴ His 1899 obituary in the *Mitchell Commercial* summed up his Masonic associations as a member “of Mitchell Lodge F. & A. M., a Royal Arch Mason, and a member of Washington Commandery, Knights Templar.”²⁶⁵

While each of these orders—Free and Accepted Masons, Royal Arch, and Knights Templar—is generally distinct from the other two, they share a common purpose within Freemasonry to teach “lessons of social and moral virtues based on symbolism of the tools and language of the ancient building trade, using the building of a structure as a

symbol for the building of character in men.”²⁶⁶ Experienced Masons helped novices—as Charles may have done for Elihu, and which Elihu did for son Henry—to understand the importance of mutually supporting one another, and that pledge and track record of mutual support caused some outside Masonry to resent it as an organization of elites. The charge was well founded, as Masonic membership was 450,000 strong in 1883, for example, and “did include many affluent and powerful men. [In fact,] Masons disproportionately held key posts in government, the press, and the courts, and often helped each other advance in business and politics.”²⁶⁷

No attempt will be made here to debate the merits or flaws of 19th-century Masonry or explore its history in America. Instead, the purpose is to demonstrate that McIntire, like many men of influence in 19th-century, small-town America, appeared to have found in Masonry an opportunity to uphold moral values and at the same time cultivate relationships that promoted mutual benefit for themselves personally, their Masonic brothers, and for the community.

Aside from the weather, McIntire was keenly interested in astronomical and other natural events. Of the 12 mentions of solar or lunar eclipses in his diaries or his newspaper, half of them occurred during the summer months.²⁶⁸ Three of the eclipses were of the sun—all partial—nine were lunar, and four of these were total eclipses. Some were visible and others were not, due to cloud cover.²⁶⁹ What might have sparked McIntire’s interest in this phenomenon was the total solar eclipse on August 7, 1869, whose path traversed the Bering Strait, Alaska, Western Canada, and the continental United States. Mitchell, Indiana, lay in the path of totality, and while it is a possibility that McIntire observed the eclipse himself, no personal record of any such observation of the spectacle has survived. However, about 60 miles to the southeast of Mitchell, in New

Albany, Indiana, where the total eclipse was also visible, the *Daily Commercial* reported the following day that “no event will transpire during the lifetime of the present generation that will equal in interest this eclipse. . . . What a sight of magnificent grandeur!”²⁷⁰ Viewing such a display could have influenced what appears to be McIntire’s more-than-passing interest in celestial happenings.

One-time astronomical events that McIntire commented on in his paper included advising *Commercial* readers of an upcoming lunar eclipse in 1881, as well as the appearance of the famous Comet ‘C’ that same year, a spectacle with first-magnitude brilliance and a 25-degree-long tail, easily visible to the naked eye from June through August.²⁷¹ McIntire mentioned meteors in a February 1892 diary entry—not because they were visible at that time, but because they had a supposed effect on the weather, another of his pet interests: “Astronomers tell us that on February 12, or thereabout, the November Meteors pass between the Sun and the earth and interrupt about one-fourth of its rays, and thus we get cold weather at this time.”²⁷² The following day McIntire observed “a most magnificent display” of aurora borealis, “the streamers of light being much red[d]er than usual.”²⁷³ His use of comparative language in his description implies that he had seen other aurorae by which he could judge the colors of this particular display, but this exhibition was the only one that merited inclusion in his diary.

In 1881 McIntire told his readers that “Jupiter is quite visible in the east after sunset,” and the following year he announced in the *Commercial* an upcoming transit of Venus, a phenomenon that is even rarer than a total solar eclipse, which occurs on average about every 18 months.²⁷⁴ A transit of Venus is when the planet passes between the earth and the sun in such a way that it crosses the sun’s disk, visible from the earth as a black dot. Such transits of Venus occur in pairs, eight years apart, and recur about every

other century. In this set the first occurrence was in 1874 and the second in 1882.

McIntire made this observation in the *Commercial* at the time:

The students of our schools, who have been perusing the textbooks on astronomy had better make their own calculations of the transit. And they might begin now to fix up to observe the next one, which will occur in the year 2004.²⁷⁵

In his diary McIntire also recorded observations of impressive rainbows; sun dogs, an observable patch of sunlight near the sun that appears like a piece of a rainbow; full and new moons; and an “earthquake shock” that shook Mitchell in 1895, along with the entire Mississippi Valley and was the most severe quake felt in the region in 80 years.²⁷⁶

McIntire himself never gave a reason for his avid interest in astronomical happenings, but “by the mid-19th century astronomy was productive and growing.”²⁷⁷ In fact, one contemporary newspaper, the *Indiana State Sentinel*, which McIntire was known to read, editorialized the following in 1874:

There is unquestionably a culpable neglect of the study of astronomy in the schools and everywhere else. The number of persons who can give intelligent answers to questions on elementary astronomy is smaller than it ought to be in view of the educational standard on other subjects.²⁷⁸

While McIntire’s intentions regarding his attention to astronomy in his paper are not known, whether he intended to educate his readers, raise their intellectual appreciation of the heavens, or simply share his enthusiasm for the subject, for readers of his diary or the *Commercial*, he left little doubt of its importance to him personally.

In sum, McIntire’s powers of observation seemed more apparent in his newspaper than in his diaries, where at times he was maddeningly silent on many of the details of his life’s experiences. He not only paid attention to people and human drama in both records, but he also contemplated the naturally occurring phenomena that many of us ignore or take for granted. Perhaps these events did not influence McIntire’s experience on a grand

scale, but their inclusion in his personal and public accounts demonstrated that small things, if noticed and recorded, can make life more enjoyable and meaningful for the recorder and offer insight into what was important to the writer thereof.

The Season's Effect on McIntire's Journalism and Summer's Ebb

Aside from dealing with rival editors, advocating woman suffrage, battling racism, and supporting the railroad tax—the latter having the potential to benefit his town *and* his own pocket—perhaps the life experience that had the most powerful effect on McIntire's reporting, as uncovered by this cultural biography, was how he felt about the South. This view was likely not limited to his *Commercial* years, however, and probably reached back even to his boyhood when he moved from Ohio to Spencer County, Indiana. McIntire lived just across the river from slave states Kentucky and Missouri during his youth and while at medical school, respectively, and he spent time in Kentucky and Tennessee during his service in the Civil War.

If McIntire blamed the South as the ultimate source of the hardships he endured as a soldier, the service-connected health problems that followed him for the rest of his life might have set his resentment in stone. Even when he lived in Mitchell for the last 30 years of his life, he was only 50 miles from Kentucky and would have felt the South's cultural, linguistic, and political influence. McIntire was characterized in an 1884 sketch as having “always voted in opposition to the pro-slavery party.”²⁷⁹ An 1882 comment he made in the *Commercial* suggests that his grudge against his Southern neighbors was not superficial:

The Indianapolis Sentinel, the leading mouth-piece of the Indiana Democracy has at length discovered that the South has caused all the dissension in this country.

We have been endeavoring for these many years to convince the people of this fact and now since the Sentinel has editorially sanctioned our arguments we are more convinced than ever that we were right.²⁸⁰

In McIntire's mind, if the "pro-slavery" party was the Democratic Party, and if the Democrats were synonymous with slavery, and the source of slavery was the South, then he would naturally do everything he could to thwart all three by touting the Republican Party as the solution to the nation's problems.²⁸¹ This he appeared to do in the *Commercial*, not only nominally with the "RADICALISM IS RIGHTEOUSNESS" tagline, but also with his constant criticism of the Democrats and his lavish praise of the GOP, which I will not elaborate here, but it is treated in great length in the Summer, Fall, Discussion, and Conclusion chapters of this dissertation. This example, however, serves to illustrate the pattern that McIntire's life experiences in many instances drove his journalism in a variety of directions.

Just as summer is the longest season in the Northern Hemisphere, besting spring by one day and autumn and winter by four and five days, respectively, this Summer chapter, which spans the years from 1865 to 1883, also covers more years than the other chapters. Summer is a time for work, hobbies, outdoor recreation, and spending time with family. And given the frenzied pace of midyear activities, it can also bring the unexpected and unwelcome. McIntire experienced all of these things in the form of changing careers a number of times: starting his Mitchell medical practice, selling insurance, engaging in speculative leasing of land for mining or railroad expansion, owning and editing a newspaper, taking a yearlong sabbatical to work in the Mail Service, returning to the paper, resuming his medical practice near the end of his *Commercial* tenure, and selling his beloved paper to others who apparently did not give it the care and attention that McIntire did. He also pursued his interests in geology,

astronomy, and Masonry, and he spent a bit more time at home upon leaving his travel-heavy employments. His summertime years personified the sunshine and storm typical of the season, and after being tempered by the summer's heat, his leaving the *Commercial* served as an autumnal equinox of sorts as he gradually slowed his pace, just as fall does with its dwindling hours of daylight, to return to familiar occupations and to explore new ones.

Notes from Chapter 6

¹ ESM, September 23, 1871.

² *Mitchel Commercial*, June 15, 1882, 2.

³ ESM, July 20, 1895.

⁴ ESM, September 25, 1897.

⁵ Murdoch, *The Seasons*, 77.

⁶ *History of Lawrence and Orange*, 64–65.

⁷ Edwards, *History of Mitchell*, 74.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 96–98. See Railroad Map of Indiana, accessed May 11, 2016, <http://tile.loc.gov/image-services/iiif/service:gmd:gmd409:g4091:g4091p:rr002140/full/pct:25/0/default.jpg>. “Before 1897” is penciled in on the map.

⁹ McIntire referred to the O&M frequently in his diaries and to the L. N. A. & C. in his newspaper, where the timetables for both lines appeared each week in the *Commercial*. The Monon bore that name from about 1882 to 1971, when it merged with the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. See Frank F. Hargrave, *A Pioneer Indiana Railroad: The Origin and Development of the Monon* (Indianapolis, IN: Wm B. Burford, 1932), 196–197, accessed October 3, 2016,

[https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.\\$b38949;view=1up;seq=18](https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.$b38949;view=1up;seq=18).

¹⁰ Edwards, *History of Mitchell*, 97–98. Some years later, Brady Street became Eighth Street, and Baker Street was renamed Grissom Avenue in memory of U.S. astronaut Virgil “Gus” Grissom, who grew up in a small frame house on Baker Street. Grissom and two other astronauts, Roger Chaffee and Edward White, were training for the first Apollo mission to the moon when they died in a prelaunch test after the command module caught fire. See Stroud, *My Legacy*, 31; *New York Times*, January 28, 1967, 1.

¹¹ Edwards, *History of Mitchell*, 100.

¹² With Mitchel’s military background the Union Army pressed him into service during the Civil War, and he was appointed a brigadier general. He first engineered the defense of Cincinnati and organized an 1862 raid led by James J. Andrews that was successful in stealing a Confederate train in Georgia, an adventure immortalized in a Disney film, *The Great Locomotive Chase*. See *The Great Locomotive Chase*, directed by Francis Lyon (1956; Hollywood, CA: Walt Disney Studios Home Entertainment, 2004), DVD. Mitchel was promoted to major general, in part for his intrepid capture of Huntsville, Alabama, without firing a single shot, which resulted in Union control of the Memphis and Charlestown Railroad. Mitchel died in 1862 of yellow fever in South Carolina while leading the Union’s Tenth Army Corps. See Phineas Camp Headley, *Old Stars: The Life and Military Career of Major-General Ormsby M. Mitchel* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1883), 197–234; Stroud, *My Legacy*, 11–14.

¹³ *History of Lawrence and Orange*, 155–156.

¹⁴ Stroud, *My Legacy*, 14.

¹⁵ See issues of the *Mitchel Commercial* from December 30, 1880, to December 28, 1882, for examples. In the early part of McIntire’s newspaper years, the masthead of the paper and references therein referred to Mitchell as “Mitchell,” with both l’s; see *Mitchell Commercial*, March 6, 1873, and June 1, 1876, for examples. Between 1880 and 1882, McIntire referred to Mitchell in the masthead and in pages of the *Commercial* as “Mitchel.” It is not known for certain what prompted the change in spelling.

¹⁶ Stroud, *My Legacy*, 37–44; Edwards, *History of Mitchell*, 74.

¹⁷ *A Compendium of the Ninth Census* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1872), 171, accessed October 4, 2016, <http://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/compendium/1870e-01.pdf>.

¹⁸ Stroud, *My Legacy*, 47; see also fire-insurance map of Mitchell, dated August 1899, in possession of the Lawrence County Historical Society.

¹⁹ Edwards, *History of Mitchell*, 97.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ From a fire-insurance map of Mitchell, dated August 1899, in possession of the Lawrence County Historical Society.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Stroud, *My Legacy*, 33–34.

²⁴ See, for example, *Mitchell Commercial*, March 6, 1873, 3; January 13, 1881, 2; and December 22, 1881, 2.

²⁵ See *Bedford Banner*, January 31, 1879, 2; and *Bedford Star*, March 6, 1875, 2.

²⁶ From a fire-insurance map of Mitchell, dated August 1899, in possession of the Lawrence County Historical Society.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *History of Lawrence and Orange*, 157; *Mitchell Commercial*, May 11, 1899, 4; *Daily Wabash (IN) Express*, June 17, 1868, 1; June 19, 1868, 1.

²⁹ 1880 U.S. Census for Lawrence County, Indiana, page 24, lists Lucy and Charles as ages 13 and 11, respectively.

³⁰ *Personal and Medical Records of J. T. Biggs*, as cited in Stroud, *My Legacy*, 37–38.

³¹ ESM, January 17 and February 22, 1878.

³² See, for example, ESM, January 3 and March 19, 1876; January 11, 1884; February 1, February 3, February 15, March 12, and May 22, 1878; February 7, 1888; July 1, 1891; and July 7, 1898.

³³ *Rockport Planter*, March 5, 1853, 1.

³⁴ See ESM, February 7, 1884; and February 1884 financial-account register within McIntire's 1884 diary. Ten dollars in 1870 equates to \$189.15, accessed October 1, 2016, www.westegg.com.

³⁵ ESM, January 1, 1871.

³⁶ McIntire's surviving diaries are from the years 1871, 1876, 1878, 1879, 1884, 1888, 1891, 1892, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, and 1899. There are 11 diaries covering 13 calendar years. The 10 entries from the year 1879 are written in the memorandum pages of his 1878 diary, and his 1897 diary is recorded in his 1896 diary, with some double entries when he recorded the happenings of his life on the same date in those successive years. All McIntire's diaries are in the possession of the researcher.

³⁷ For a more detailed description of this type of diary see Ronald A. Bosco and Glen M. Johnson, eds., *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson Volume XVI: 1866–1882* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 520.

³⁸ ESM, January 10, 1878, and January 19, 1895. In those two diaries there are entries that precede those dates, so McIntire must have recorded his daily record elsewhere and then copied those entries into his diaries once he received them.

³⁹ See ESM, May 16 and September 19, 1896; March 31, 1897; and September 5, 1898.

⁴⁰ Joëlle Proust defines metacognition as “the kinds of processes involved, and the self-knowledge gained, in thinking about, and in controlling, one’s own thinking” in “Metacognition,” *Philosophy Compass* 5, no. 11 (November, 2010): 989.

⁴¹ ESM, January 11–12, 1871. The length of the train trip is based on McIntire’s 1876 diary, where he documented his employment in the U.S. Mail Service when he rode the train frequently between St. Louis and Cincinnati. See, for example, ESM, January 5, 10, 13, 30, and February 5, 1876.

⁴² Charles Kelley Knight, “The History of Life Insurance in the United States to 1870” (doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1920), 160, accessed May 14, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=zaAPAwAAQBAJ&pg=PA1&dq=charles+kelly+knight&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjV4qHQu4HQAhuOHGMKHV2FC3UQ6AEIHjAA#v=onepage&q=charles%20kelley%20knight&f=false>.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁴⁴ See ESM, January 24, March 20, May 3, 1871.

⁴⁵ *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Insurance for the State of Michigan: Year Ending December 31, 1870* (Lansing, MI: W. S. George & Co., 1871), xxxv.

⁴⁶ See, for example, ESM, January 7, January 10, February 23, February 28, March 15, May 5, and May 23, 1871. Based on his 1871 diary, Medora, Jackson County, was a recurring destination that might have offered more success than other places. He went there at least 13 times during the year. Other frequent stops in Jackson County included Vallonia and Clear Spring (four times each). McIntire also traveled somewhat frequently to Hardinsburg in Washington County and Fort Ritner in Lawrence County, also four times each.

⁴⁷ See the financial-account register for ESM 1871 diary for examples of McIntire’s expenses.

⁴⁸ See ESM 1871 diary’s Memoranda Page 2.

⁴⁹ ESM, April 20, 1871.

⁵⁰ Inflation calculator accessed May 16, 2016, www.westegg.com.

⁵¹ See ESM January 9, January 23, April 1, December 9, and December 12, 1871, for examples.

⁵² ESM, January 23 and February 2, 1871.

⁵³ See ESM, January 31 and February 6, 1871.

⁵⁴ See ESM, March 1, March 4, and April 3, 1871, for examples.

⁵⁵ ESM, June 8, 1871.

⁵⁶ See ESM, June 30, July 7, August 4, and September 20, 1871, for examples.

⁵⁷ ESM, March 17, November 20, December 2, and December 8, 1871.

⁵⁸ ESM, January 1, March 6, March 12, and March 19, 1871.

⁵⁹ ESM, April 16, May 2, May 14, June 12, July 29, and November 17, 1871.

⁶⁰ *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part I* (Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975), 588, accessed December 21, 2016, http://www2.census.gov/library/publications/1975/compendia/hist_stats_colonial-1970/hist_stats_colonial-1970p1-chM.pdf; see also Hardy Green, *The Company Town: The Industrial Edens and Satanic Mills That Shaped the American Economy* (New York: Basic Books, 2012), 62, accessed May 16, 2016, https://books.google.com/books?id=RHD0Z_AiR58C&dq.

- ⁶¹ Logan Esarey, *A History of Indiana: From 1850 to the Present* (Indianapolis, IN: B. F. Bowen & Company, 1918), 895, accessed May 18, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=IhrVAAAAMAAJ&pg>.
- ⁶² ESM, June 20, 1871.
- ⁶³ ESM, June 30, July 13, August 31, and November 29, 1871.
- ⁶⁴ See ESM 1871 diary's financial-account register.
- ⁶⁵ Fairfax Harrison, *A History of the Legal Development of the Railroad System of Southern Railway Company* (Washington, DC: Southern Railway Company, 1901), 1349, accessed May 17, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=0IkjAQAAMAAJ&pg>.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1349–1351.
- ⁶⁷ E. T. Cox, *Second Report of the Geological Survey of Indiana, Made during the Year 1870* (Indianapolis, IN: R. J. Bright, 1871), 7–8, accessed May 18, 2016, https://igs.indiana.edu/CMIS/library/Annual_Report_1870.pdf.
- ⁶⁸ See ESM, July 1, July 27, August 3, and October 7, 1871, for examples.
- ⁶⁹ See ESM, June 29, July 5, July 6, and August 24, 1871, for examples.
- ⁷⁰ ESM, March 22, 1871.
- ⁷¹ ESM, March 23, 1871.
- ⁷² See ESM, August 17, September 4, September 30, 1871.
- ⁷³ Harrison, *Southern Railway Company*, 1351.
- ⁷⁴ See ESM, October 3, October 27, November 1, November 4, November 13, November 16, November 20, November 21, November 25, and December 6, 1871.
- ⁷⁵ ESM, November 10, 1871.
- ⁷⁶ ESM, December 17, 1871.
- ⁷⁷ ESM, December 16–21, 1871.
- ⁷⁸ ESM, April 26, 1871.
- ⁷⁹ Stroud, *My Legacy*, 159.
- ⁸⁰ *History of Lawrence and Monroe*, 97–98; Edwards, *History of Mitchell*, 127; Stroud, *My Legacy*, 159–160; *Mitchell's Journal of Memories, 1853–1953* (Mitchell, IN: Mitchell Centennial, Inc., 1953), 13, based on the recollection of local historian, A. N. Palmer (1873–1958).
- ⁸¹ ESM, February 9, 1871.
- ⁸² For examples of how editors supplemented their incomes through job printing, see Lyon, *Pioneer Editor*, 53–54, 56, 106–107; Cloud, *Business of Newspapers*, 72–76; and Dyer, “Political Patronage,” 51.
- ⁸³ *Indianapolis News*, July 13, 1872, 3.
- ⁸⁴ Stroud, *My Legacy*, 160. McIntire moved the *Commercial* office at least one other time “to the brick house south of the O & M Railway,” as reported in the *Mitchel Commercial*, June 30, 1881, 3.
- ⁸⁵ See listing of extant issues of the *Mitchel(l) Commercial*, accessed May 19, 2016, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84037952/holdings/>.
- ⁸⁶ Some reflected the time and place of McIntire's world, while others presaged future patterns for politics, the newspaper profession, and popular culture. Despite the slightly asynchronous time periods between his diary and the surviving issues of his newspaper, there were a number of recurring themes that emerged in both these public and private records, which inform one another in describing life in Mitchell, Indiana, for citizens in general, and for McIntire specifically.

⁸⁷ *History of Lawrence and Orange*, 155–156. There was at least one period during 1872–1883 when he was not the full-time editor of the *Commercial*. Details on the circumstances that led to this sabbatical are sketchy, but according to the March 15 and April 1, 1876, entries in his diary, McIntire worked full time for nearly a year with the U.S. mail service, spending most of his time on trains and in hotels from St. Louis to Cincinnati, with only sporadic stints at home with this wife and young family. That he wrote very little about the *Commercial* during his time with the mail service would suggest that he turned the day-to-day operations of the paper over to others. In May 1876, according to his diary for that year, he returned to the paper as his full-time occupation until he sold the COMMERCIAL in October 1883 to M. N. Moore & Son.

⁸⁸ Four-page weeklies were the most common format and frequency for U.S. newspapers of the period. See Rutenbeck, “Newspaper Trends,” 361–375.

⁸⁹ Composition of the *Commercial*, with two pages of ads and pieces clipped from other papers, resembled that of Charles Crouch’s *South-Carolina Gazette* of the 1760s and 1770s. See Susan Henry, “Exception to the Female Model: Colonial Printer Mary Crouch,” *Journalism Quarterly* 62, no. 185 (1985): 725–733, 749.

⁹⁰ See the *Mitchell Commercial* editions of March 6, 1873; June 1, 1876; January 13, 1881; and February 2, 1882, for the variations referred to.

⁹¹ *Mitchell Commercial*, March 10, 1881, 3.

⁹² This undated clipping from the *Loogootee Times* was found in McIntire’s 1876 diary.

⁹³ *Ellettsville (IN) Sun*, May 2, 1878.

⁹⁴ *Mitchell Commercial*, March 6, 1873, 3.

⁹⁵ *Jasper Weekly Courier*, April 11, 1873, 1.

⁹⁶ *Jasper Weekly Courier*, November 1 1872, 4.

⁹⁷ *Jasper Weekly Courier*, November 1, 1872, 4; *Indianapolis News*, January 10, 1873, 4.

⁹⁸ *Mitchell Commercial*, March 6, 1873, 2.

⁹⁹ Hans L. Trefousse, *The Radical Republicans: Lincoln’s Vanguard for Racial Justice* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), xxvii, xxxiv, accessed December 21, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=hWYWBQAAQBAJ>. For examples of how McIntire promoted these efforts in his newspaper, see also *Mitchell Commercial*, February 24, 1881, 2; March 24, 1881, 2; and June 29, 1882, 2.

¹⁰⁰ 1880 U.S. Census, Lawrence County, Indiana, 28.

¹⁰¹ *Bedford Star*, March 6, 1875, 2.

¹⁰² *Bedford Star*, March 13, 1875, 2.

¹⁰³ Inflation calculator accessed January 19, 2017, www.westegg.com.

¹⁰⁴ ESM, January 18, 1876. Among McIntire’s personal papers is a handwritten receipt that reads: “Received January 18 1876 of E. S. McIntire twenty five dollars on note due Euphennie Kelly. [Signed] D Kelly.”

¹⁰⁵ *History of the Railway Mail Service: A Chapter in the History of Postal Affairs* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1885), 28, 37. The idea for using the railroad to carry the mail resulted from public criticism that U.S. mail service by horse and stage was too slow. At first, mail was simply bagged and sent from one point to another on trains. In 1837, the first route agent, John E. Kendall, was appointed to safeguard mailbags traveling by rail.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 180–181; see also Fred J. Romanski, “The ‘Fast Mail’: A History of the U.S. Railway Mail Service,” *Prologue* 37, no. 3 (Fall, 2005), accessed May 20, 2016, <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2005/fall/fast-mail-1.html>. In 1862, the first postal railcar, fitted with letter cases for sorting mail, tables, and oversized doors for easier access, was used to transport and process the mail on a test run between St. Louis and Hannibal, Missouri. See *Railway Mail Service*, 81, 183. Use of these cars increased the speed and efficiency of mail service, and a mechanical arm, first used in 1869, allowed for postal workers to pick up mailbags without requiring the train to stop. Landmarks such as signs, poles, or trees cued postal workers on the train for the right moment to push bags of processed mail out the door of the moving train so that the momentum carried the rolling bag to the right spot to be recovered along the tracks. See Romanski, “Fast Mail;” *Railway Mail Service*, 108, 211.

¹⁰⁸ *Railway Mail Service*, 161, 182.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 71, 96.

¹¹⁰ William J. Watt, *The Pennsylvania Railroad in Indiana* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999), 80, accessed May 20, 2016, https://books.google.com/books?id=_AdWws9Fu3UC&pg. A November 1882 railroad pass from the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad is among McIntire’s surviving personal papers. The pass allowed for up to 50 trips on the train that month and was punched four times.

¹¹¹ See *Mitchell Commercial*, May 11, 1899, 4; *Ellettsville Sun*, May 2, 1878; *Bedford Democrat*, May 12, 1899, 2; and *Eminent and Self-made Men*, 1:24, for descriptions of McIntire’s personality.

¹¹² See, for example, ESM, January 31, 1878; June 28, 1878; and June 11, 1888. In his January 31, 1878, diary entry, McIntire wrote simply, “Met Henry Ward Beecher on the train,” with no other reaction or commentary on that day. According to newspaper accounts, Beecher had lectured in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on January 28, 1878, and arrived in Chicago on February 2 to preach at a local church. See *Harrisburg Telegraph*, January 28, 1878, 4, and *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 3, 1878, 8. McIntire would have encountered Beecher on the westbound train of the Ohio & Mississippi railway between Seymour and Mitchell, McIntire having indicated in his diary entry that he went to Seymour that morning on the train and returned to Mitchell that evening. Later, McIntire lauded Beecher on page 4 of the January 5, 1882, edition of the *Mitchell Commercial*: “Beecher has made more money by preaching and writing than any other man that ever stood in the pulpit, and it is hardly probable that his success will ever be equaled. He is really a wonderful man, and his powers, even at 66, seem but little abated.” McIntire’s own antislavery stance might have prompted his admiration for Beecher, a prominent abolitionist in his own right, and brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.

¹¹³ As calculated from McIntire’s recording of the departure and arrival times for his mail run between St. Louis and Cincinnati. See ESM, January 2–3, 1876.

¹¹⁴ See ESM, January 5, 10, 13, 30, and February 5, 1876, for examples.

¹¹⁵ See ESM, January 6, 10, 11, 18, 23, 26, 31, and February 5, 1876, for examples.

¹¹⁶ See ESM, January 1–31, 1876, for a description of his mail-service schedule and work.

¹¹⁷ ESM, January 2, 1876.

- ¹¹⁸ See ESM, January 4, 6, 8, and 16, 1876, for examples.
- ¹¹⁹ ESM, January 19–20, 1876.
- ¹²⁰ ESM, January 10 and 31, 1876, and February 1, 1876.
- ¹²¹ ESM, January 1, 15, 21, 24, and 29, 1876.
- ¹²² ESM, January 3 and 7, 1876.
- ¹²³ See ESM, January 7, 9, 11, 17, 19, 23, and 27, 1876, for examples. Being an editor, one of McIntire's activities in both St. Louis and Cincinnati, while not noted in his diary, was probably perusing the local paper. On January 3, 1876, a day McIntire spent in St. Louis, he would have found news about multimillion-dollar lawsuits against Tammany Hall's Boss Tweed and editorials on the sorry state of both the national economy and the pavement on city streets, as well as the evils of the dying practice of dueling. An ad for diaries for purchase at Robt. D. Patterson & Co. might have caught his attention, as well as the tagline of the paper—"Independent in All Things, Neutral in Nothing"—the very same slogan that appeared at the top of his *Commercial* in the early years. See *St. Louis Dispatch*, January 3, 1876. In Cincinnati on January 5, the pages of the *Enquirer* recounted the kidnapping of Charley Ross, a boy who disappeared from his home in Germantown, Pennsylvania, two years previously, and the birth of a baby to a woman traveling alone on a westbound Atlantic and Great Western train that stopped in Cincinnati. See *Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 5, 1876, 1, 4.
- ¹²⁴ ESM, February 2, 1876. C. Jay French was superintendent of Fifth Division of Railway Mail Service, based in Cincinnati, see *Railway Mail Service*, 97.
- ¹²⁵ ESM, February 5, 1876.
- ¹²⁶ ESM, February 6, 1876.
- ¹²⁷ ESM, February 7, 1876.
- ¹²⁸ ESM, February 8 and March 3, 1876.
- ¹²⁹ ESM, February 7, 1876.
- ¹³⁰ ESM, January 29, 1876.
- ¹³¹ ESM, February 11, 1876.
- ¹³² ESM, February 8, 1876.
- ¹³³ According to the Oxford English Dictionary, a *dodger* is a leaflet.
- ¹³⁴ ESM, January 21, February 15, February 23, and March 20, 1876.
- ¹³⁵ ESM, February 13, 15, 17, 29, 1876; March 1–4, 1876.
- ¹³⁶ *Lawrence Gazette*, June 3, 1875, 2.
- ¹³⁷ *Mitchell Commercial*, November 25, 1875, 1.
- ¹³⁸ ESM, February 15, February 28–March 1, 1876,
- ¹³⁹ ESM, February 21–24, 1876.
- ¹⁴⁰ ESM, March 6–8, 1876.
- ¹⁴¹ ESM, March 8, 1876.
- ¹⁴² ESM, March 12, 1876.
- ¹⁴³ ESM, March 16, 1876.
- ¹⁴⁴ ESM, March 18, 1876,
- ¹⁴⁵ ESM, March 21, 1876.
- ¹⁴⁶ See E. T. Cox, *Seventh Annual Report of the Geological Survey of Indiana, Made during the 1875* (Indianapolis, IN: Sentinel, 1876), 203–239; William DePrez Inlow, "The Indiana Physician As Geologist and Naturalist," *Indiana Magazine of History* 56, no. 1 (March 1960): 1–35, accessed May 21, 2016, <https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals>

/index.php/imh/article/view/8681/11075; Lou Malcomb and Richard L. Powell, "Looking at Historical Scientific Reports from a Local History Perspective: Orange County As an Example," *Indiana Libraries* 31, no. 2 (2012): 17–24, accessed May 21, 2016, <https://journals.iupui.edu/index.php/IndianaLibraries/article/view/2044/3405>.

¹⁴⁷ Undated 1876 clipping from the *Martin County Herald*, found in McIntire's 1876 diary.

¹⁴⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 18, 1876, 7. Clipping found in McIntire's 1876 diary.

¹⁴⁹ *Bedford Star*, March 25, 1876, 2. Clipping found in McIntire's 1876 diary.

¹⁵⁰ Undated 1876 clipping from the *Bedford Mirror*, found in McIntire's 1876 diary.

¹⁵¹ George M. Blackburn, "Radical Republican Motivation: A Case History," *Journal of Negro History* 54 (1969): 109–126. See also note 99.

¹⁵² *Mitchel Commercial*, October 5, 1882, 1, citing the *Indianapolis Journal*.

¹⁵³ Rutenbeck, "Newspaper Trends," 361–375.

¹⁵⁴ GOP as an acronym, was first applied to the Republican Party in 1875, when it became known as the Gallant Old Party, according to Francie Grace, "What Does GOP Stand For?", February 11, 2009. Accessed April 5, 2013, http://www.cbsnews.com/2100-250_162-531460.html. The website ushistory.org suggests that the nickname evolved in 1888 to Grand Old Party, accessed April 24, 2013, at <http://www.ushistory.org/gop/origins.htm>. Several examples predate the 1888 time frame, however. See *Fort Scott (KS) Daily Monitor*, June 14, 1870, 1; *Lawrence (KS) Daily Journal*, March 18, 1871, 2; *Marengo (Illinois) Republican-News*, May 11 1872, 2. See also *Mitchel Commercial*, September 8, 1881, 2.

¹⁵⁵ *Mitchel Commercial*, March 17, 1881, 2.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, September 29, 1881, 2. "Is" was capitalized in the original.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, February 24, 1881, 2.

¹⁵⁸ Kathleen B. Nutter, "This Greenback Lunacy: Third Party Politics in Franklin County, 1878," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 22, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 106–120.

¹⁵⁹ *Mitchel Commercial*, June 29, 1882, 2.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, August 31, 1882, 2; February 2, 1882, 2; March 9, 1882, 2.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, March 24, 1881, 2.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, January 28, 1882, 2.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, June 1, 1882, 2; March 3, 1881, 2; August 31, 1882, 2.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, March 24, 1881, 2.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, March 31, 1881, 3.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, February 10, 1881, 2.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, January 19, 1882, 2; September 21, 1882, 3. McIntire did not note in subsequent issues of the *Commercial* whether the new school building he called for was ever built.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, January 20, 1881, 3. L. N. A. & C. stood for Louisville, New Albany, and Chicago. See *Mitchel Commercial*, September 22, 1881, 3.

¹⁶⁹ *Mitchell Commercial*, June 1, 1876, 1. See also Laurie A. Willkie, *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation, Louisiana, 1840–1950* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 30; *Mitchel Commercial*, August 4, 1881, 3.

¹⁷⁰ ESM, February 17, March 2, April 1, May 6, June 8, June 15, June 19, July 23, October 8–10, 1878; The "Silver" Act was in reference to the Bland-Allison Act, which required the U.S. Treasury to put silver coinage into circulation. See Marie I. Rhomberg,

“The History of the Bland Allison Dollars” (master’s thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1921).

¹⁷¹ ESM, February 13, 17, and 28; April 3; May 4; and October 5–8, 1878. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, a *ticket* can be a written notice or placard.

¹⁷² According to the Oxford English Dictionary, a *puff* is an “inflated or unmerited praise or commendation.” See also *Mitchel Commercial*, February 2, 1882, 2.

¹⁷³ ESM, September 20 and November 25, 1878.

¹⁷⁴ ESM., February 15, 1876.

¹⁷⁵ ESM, March 17, 1878.

¹⁷⁶ Issues of the *Commercial* were scanned from the microfilm as single-page PDFs, which were compiled into four-page documents and then digitized with Optical Character Recognition software. Average gross word count was then calculated from a random sample of 10 issues of the *Commercial*.

¹⁷⁷ Word count for the April 20, 2013, issue of *The Salt Lake Tribune* was obtained by taking the first four pages of the PDF version of the print edition, converting it to .rtf format, and noting the word count after opening it in Microsoft Word.

¹⁷⁸ This undated news clipping, which presumably coincides with McIntire’s return to the *Commercial* in 1876, was found in McIntire’s 1876 journal with the name of the newspaper penciled on the clipping.

¹⁷⁹ McIntire mentions “exchanges” five times in his 1878 diary: April 7, April 14, May 4, May 5, and August 10. From the context it appears that exchanges were courtesy copies of other newspapers provided to him at no cost in exchange for free copies of the *Commercial*.

¹⁸⁰ Beth H. Garfrerick, “Before Bloggers There Were Ploggers (Print Loggers): Community Journalism Correspondents,” paper presented at Community-Building Symposium XVIII, Charleston, SC (October 2012): 4, accessed December 20, 2016, <http://www.nnaweb.org/pub/doc/garfrerickpaper.pdf>; Scott E. Casper, Jeffrey D. Groves, Stephen W. Nissenbaum, and Michael Winship, eds., *The History of the Book in America, Volume 3: The Industrial Book, 1840–1880* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 239, accessed December 20, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=j33i-WMOplYC>; Alfred McClung Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), 580–582, accessed December 20, 2016, https://archive.org/stream/dailynewspaperin007602mbp/dailynewspaperin007602mbp_djvu.txt, 16.

¹⁸¹ See *Mitchel Commercial*, December 30, 1880, 4; July 7, 1881, 3; and August 17, 1882, 1, for examples.

¹⁸² Boorstin, *The Americans*, 130.

¹⁸³ ESM, May 7, June 3, July 12, October 26 and 28, 1878.

¹⁸⁴ George P. Rowell, *American Newspaper Directory*, Fourteenth Edition (New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co. Publishers, 1882).

¹⁸⁵ ESM, February 16 and May 21, 1878.

¹⁸⁶ *Mitchel(l) Commercial*, March 6, 1873, 3; March 17, 1881, 2; August 18, 1881, 2. Publishing the names of subscribers was common practice among small newspapers as a way to encourage people to subscribe. For example, see Mangun, *A Force for Change*.

¹⁸⁷ *Mitchel Commercial*, January 27, 1881, 1.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, March 24, 1881, 2.

¹⁸⁹ *Bedford Banner*, January 8, 1880, 2; *Mitchell Times*, September 27, 1877, 2. The *Mitchell Times*, a Democratic-leaning was started in 1877, creating a direct competitor to McIntire's *Commercial*. See North, *History and Present Condition*, 234. Other commodities taken as payment for subscriptions to booster papers included "corn, molasses, potatoes, cabbage, flour, meal, fruit, or kindling-wood." See Boorstin, *The Americans*, 130.

¹⁹⁰ *Mitchel Commercial*, May 11, 1882, 2.

¹⁹¹ Taeuber, "Weekly Newspapers," 411–415.

¹⁹² See, for example, Dorothea D. Reeves, "Come All for the Cure-all: Patent Medicine's Nineteenth Century Bonanza," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 15, no. 3 (July 1967): 253–272; "Is There an Advertising Graveyard?" *Printers' Ink* 70, no. 10 (March 9, 1910): 3–4; "Patent Medicines," *Meyer Brothers Druggist* 19, no. 1 (January 1898): 3; Taeuber, "Weekly Newspapers," 411–415; and "Meyer v. Dr. B. L. Bull Vegetable Medicine Co." *Federal Reporter* 58 (1894): 885.

¹⁹³ Taeuber, "Weekly Newspapers," 411–415.

¹⁹⁴ *Mitchel Commercial*, November 24, 1881, 1.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, February 10, 1881, 2.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, June 9, 1881, 3.

¹⁹⁷ *Mitchell Commercial*, June 1, 1876, 3; *Mitchel Commercial*, January 5, 1882, 3.

¹⁹⁸ ESM, June 1, November 8, November 18–19, 1878; *Mitchel Commercial*, April 28, 1881, 3. A tramp printer was one who performed printing work, moving from town to town, never staying permanently in one place. According to Pinkerton, *Strikers*, 52–67, many of these individuals were also fond of the "flowing bowl," a euphemism for alcoholic beverages; ESM, February 18, March 1, June 7, and November 27, 1878.

¹⁹⁹ ESM, October 14–16, 1878.

²⁰⁰ Henry McIntire was the researcher's great-grandfather; United States Census, Lawrence County, Indiana, 1880. Since colonial times, it was common practice for printers' children to work in their fathers' shops. See Henry, "Female Model," 730.

²⁰¹ See ESM, January 5, 1878; March 28, 1878; May 8, 1878; and October 23, 1878; for examples.

²⁰² *Mitchel Commercial*, July 7, 1881, 2.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, December 1, 1881, 2.

²⁰⁴ Taeuber, "Weekly Newspapers," 411–415.

²⁰⁵ *Mitchel Commercial*, June 15, 1882, 2.

²⁰⁶ ESM, January 22 and February 8, 1878.

²⁰⁷ Taeuber, "Weekly Newspapers," 412.

²⁰⁸ *Mitchel Commercial*, November 3, 1881, 2.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, February 24, 1881, 2.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, July 20, 1882, 2.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, January 13, 1881, 2.

²¹² *Ibid.*, February 3, 1881, 2.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, November 17, 1881, 2.

²¹⁴ *Fort Wayne (IN) Daily Gazette*, June 9, 1881, 4.

²¹⁵ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 11, 1899, 4.

²¹⁶ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 25, 1877, 5.

²¹⁷ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 25, 1877, 5.

- ²¹⁸ “Prominent People in Our Hostelryes,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, December 4, 1878, 2. See also ESM, December 3, 1878.
- ²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, June 2, 1881, 3.
- ²²⁰ *Ibid.*, September 15, 1881, 2.
- ²²¹ This undated clipping in McIntire’s 1876 diary had the name of the publication penciled on it.
- ²²² *Mitchel Commercial*, September 29, 1881, 2.
- ²²³ In much of the eastern United States in the 19th century, a township was an unorganized subdivision in a county and which often had towns within its boundaries. For example, Mitchell was part of Marion Township, Indiana; *Mitchel Commercial*, March 16, 1882, 2.
- ²²⁴ *Mitchell Commercial*, June 1, 1876, 1.
- ²²⁵ ESM, July 16, 1878. See also “One Hundred Degrees in the Shade: Terrible Effects of the Heat,” *The New York Times*, July 17, 1878, 5; *Mitchel Commercial*, August 11, 1881, 2. See also *The New York Times*, August 6, 1881, accessed May 23, 2016, <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9D0CE2DA133EE433A25755C0A96E9C94609FD7CF&version.>
- ²²⁶ *Mitchel Commercial*, January 6, 1881, 2.
- ²²⁷ *Ibid.*, February 24, 1881, 2.
- ²²⁸ *Ibid.*, October 13, 1881, 3.
- ²²⁹ ESM, February 22, 1878
- ²³⁰ *Mitchel Commercial*, February 24, 1881, 2.
- ²³¹ *Ibid.*, July 6, 1882, 2; ESM, July 4, 1878.
- ²³² *Ibid.*, November 30, 1882, 3.
- ²³³ *Ibid.*, January 6, 1881, 3.
- ²³⁴ *Eminent and Self-Made Men*, 24.
- ²³⁵ *Mitchel Commercial*, January 20, 1881, 3.
- ²³⁶ *Ibid.*, January 19, 1882, 3.
- ²³⁷ *Ibid.*, June 8, 1881, 2.
- ²³⁸ *Ibid.*, November 24, 1881, 2; December 30, 1880, 2; March 23, 1882, 3. See ESM, April 9, August 18, November 30, 1878, for examples.
- ²³⁹ *Mitchel Commercial*, October 20, 1881, 2.
- ²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, April 27, 1882, 2.
- ²⁴¹ ESM, January 1, 1878; January 12, 1878.
- ²⁴² ESM, April 8 and May 28, 1878.
- ²⁴³ *Bedford Democrat*, May 12, 1899, 2.
- ²⁴⁴ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 6, 1897, 4; May 11, 1899, 4.
- ²⁴⁵ *History of Lawrence and Monroe*, 98; Stroud, *My Legacy*, 160.
- ²⁴⁶ *Personal Scrapbooks, Letters, and Diaries of Elizabeth Biggs McIntire*, as cited in Stroud, *My Legacy*, 160. Stroud does not cite the specific issues of the *Mitchell Commercial* that were referenced.
- ²⁴⁷ *Bedford-Mitchell Banner*, September 28, 1876, 2.
- ²⁴⁸ *Eminent and Self-made Men*, 1:24–25.
- ²⁴⁹ *Mitchel Commercial*, March 9, 1882, 3.
- ²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, April 6, 1882, 3.
- ²⁵¹ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, March 3, 1882, 8.

²⁵² Neither the Pension Acts of 1862 nor 1873 stipulate specific qualifications for physicians to be considered for service on boards of examining surgeons. The 1862 act simply states that the “Commissioner of Pensions [is] empowered to appoint, at his discretion, civil surgeons to make the biennial examinations of pensioners.” The 1873 act contains similar language and does not require specific qualifications for examining surgeons other than that said examiner be “competent.” See *An Act to Grant Pensions*, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 12 (1862): 568, accessed December 21, 2016, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=012/llsl012.db&recNum=597>; *An Act to Revise, Consolidate, and Amend the Laws Relating to Pensions*, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 17 (1873): 576, accessed December 21, 2016, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=017/llsl017.db&recNum=607>.

²⁵³ *Indianapolis News*, January 19, 1883, 3. *Bloomington Telephone*, January 20, 1883, 1.

²⁵⁴ Stroud, *My Legacy*, 202.

²⁵⁵ *Princeton (IN) Democrat*, May 5, 1883, 5.

²⁵⁶ “About the Mitchell Commercial,” accessed August 20, 2016, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84045470/>.

²⁵⁷ Stroud, *My Legacy*, 160.

²⁵⁸ *Bloomington Telephone*, October 20, 1883, 1.

²⁵⁹ Stroud, *My Legacy*, 160–161.

²⁶⁰ Many of the lodge meetings McIntire attended that year took place when he was away from Mitchell on business. As noted previously, this might have been an effort on his part to use his contacts with fellow Masons to generate referrals or to discuss insurance with them directly. This approach may have borne fruit, but McIntire did not specify in his diary when a successful sale was the result of a contact through the brotherhood. McIntire’s Masonic activities saw a similar spike in February 1876, when they were mentioned 11 times, which corresponded to the period immediately after he was dismissed from the Mail Service and before he reassumed his post as editor of the *Commercial*. Again, like 1871, when there was uncertainty about where his employment might take him, his Masonic activities increased, perhaps an indication that he turned to his Masonic contacts for support.

²⁶¹ *History of Warrick*, 337.

²⁶² ESM, April 25, 1891.

²⁶³ In the mid-1850s McIntire was in medical school, but he could have been initiated into the Rockport lodge by his father in the spring or summer months when he was home from Keokuk. In his 1871 diary McIntire mentioned visiting Spencer County and that “I went down to Rockport and staid for Lodge [and] met many of my old friends of years ago.” See ESM, December 18, 1871. That he visited his father’s lodge in Rockport to see his “old friends” offers the possibility that Rockport was where McIntire began his Masonic association.

²⁶⁴ ESM, June 3, 1878. Two of these 1871 assessment slips, for \$1.90 each, are among McIntire’s personal papers.

²⁶⁵ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 11, 1899, 4. McIntire mentioned all three Masonic organizations in his diary, referring to each as follows: “the lodge” for his activities with Lodge 228 of the Free and Accepted Masons (F. & A. M.) of Scottish Rite Freemasonry; the “chapter” for his association with Chapter 23 of the Royal Arch Masons, York Rite;

and the “commandery” for his membership in the Knights Templar, also of York Rite. See ESM, July 3, 1871; September 23, 1871; and August 5, 1892, for examples of each. McIntire also listed in his diary the leadership roles he fulfilled in his chapter—high priest and principal sojourner—and he went as a representative to the statewide grand chapter and grand lodge meetings. See, for example, ESM, January 4, May 24, October 18, and December 11, 1871; December 9, 1878; and January 4, 1888. In his diary McIntire noted the names of those he initiated into the Masonic brotherhood to include his work supervisor, leading citizens of Mitchell, and his son Henry, who in the decade after joining the Masons was elected surveyor of Lawrence County. See, for example, ESM, June 12, 1871; March 13, 1876; April 8, 1878; February 14 and March 5, 1888. Other Masonry-related items McIntire mentioned in his diary were an instance where his daughters attended an Eastern Star meeting, the women’s organization affiliated with Masonry, and the passing of two citizens, Henry Mannington and Harrison W. Field, who were buried “with Masonic honors.” ESM, February 20, 1871; March 18, 1878; and August 6, 1891.

²⁶⁶ Christopher Hodapp, *Freemasons for Dummies* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 13.

²⁶⁷ Jasper *Weekly Courier*, May 4, 1883, 1. See also Chip Berlet and Matthew N. Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism in America: Too Close for Comfort* (New York: Guilford Press, 2000), 38.

²⁶⁸ See ESM, July 29, 1878; August 12, 1878; July 22, 1888; September 4, 1895; July 29, 1897; and *Mitchel Commercial*, June 9, 1881, 2. All eclipses mentioned by McIntire in his diaries were confirmed as accurate at NASA’s eclipse sites, accessed December 21, 2016, <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/solar.html> and <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/lunar.html>.

²⁶⁹ See ESM, October 20, 1892; March 11, 1895; and January 7, 1898.

²⁷⁰ *New Albany Daily Commercial*, August 8, 1869, 4.

²⁷¹ *Mitchel Commercial*, June 9, 1881, 2; June 30, 1881, 2; August 11, 1881, 2. See also Wayne Orchiston, “C/1881 K1: A Forgotten ‘Great Comet’ of the Nineteenth Century,” *Irish Astronomical Journal* 26, no. 1 (1999): 33–44.

²⁷² ESM, February 12, 1892.

²⁷³ ESM, February 13, 1892.

²⁷⁴ *Mitchel Commercial*, November 17, 1881, 2; Joe Rao, “Total Solar Eclipses: How Often Do They Occur and Why?” Space.com (April 26, 2014), accessed May 26, 2016, <http://www.space.com/25644-total-solar-eclipses-frequency-explained.html>.

²⁷⁵ *Mitchel Commercial*, November 30, 1882, 2.

²⁷⁶ “Historic Earthquakes,” accessed May 26, 2016, http://earthquake.usgs.gov/earthquakes/states/events/1895_10_31.php. See also ESM, January 10, March 13, and April 6, 1876; March 31, 1878; January 1 and April 10, 1891; November 17, 1892; October 10, 1895; and February 27, 1898.

²⁷⁷ Elias Loomis, *The Recent Progress in Astronomy; Especially in the United States* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1849), as cited in Marc Rothenberg, “Observers, Publications, and Surveys: Astronomy in the United States in 1849,” *The Astronomical Journal* 117, no. 1 (January, 1999): 6.

²⁷⁸ *Indiana State Sentinel*, February 3, 1874, 4.

²⁷⁹ *History of Lawrence and Orange*, 297.

²⁸⁰ *Mitchel Commercial*, February 9, 1882, 2.

²⁸¹ It should be noted that McIntire never articulated a stance on slavery in his diary, and the surviving issues of the *Commercial* (1873, 1876, 1880–1882) do not treat the question, most likely because slavery was abolished by the 13th Amendment in 1865, seven years before he assumed the helm at the *Commercial*. McIntire’s strong animosity toward the South would suggest that he was against slavery, but actual characterizations of him as an “antislavery” man came from biographical sketches written by others.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FALL

*A time to pluck up that which was planted . . . a time to rend, a time to sew . . .
a time to gather stones together . . . a time to keep, and a time to cast away . . .
a time to weep . . . a time of peace.*

— *Ecclesiastes 3:2, 4–8*

*1878: I was at work in the office all day.
The morning was cool, begins to look like fall.¹*

1892: This was the coolest day of the fall, a sharp freeze may be looked for tonight.²

*1898: The first snow of the fall fell this morning early,
very light fall which melted as it fell.³*

1898: This was a fine fall day, just cool enough for comfort.⁴

Fall offers a respite from the frenzied pace of summer. Temperatures begin to cool and daylight hours gradually become shorter. However, stretches of warm, dry weather during fall are sometimes referred to as Indian summer, which term McIntire used a few times in his diary. Such conditions briefly imitate the feel of summer and then revert—often abruptly—to cooler weather patterns as autumn moves inexorably toward winter. McIntire’s departure from the *Commercial* in 1883 may be compared to the transition from summer to fall, where the “heat” he endured as editor had lessened to a degree as he resumed his medical practice and looked to other occupations and sources of

income. Some of these panned out, ushering in figurative periods of Indian summer, but employment and health reverses abruptly brought chilling frosts, portending the coming cold of winter. But fall—ostensibly a season of weakening, both for the Indiana autumn and for McIntire—in many ways becomes a thing of beauty and power. Vibrant reds and oranges give color and texture to the ritual of the harvest, as expressed in the Autumn edition of James Thomson’s “The Four Seasons”:

But this the rugged savage never felt,
 E’en desolate in crowds; and thus his days
 Roll’d heavy, dark, and unenjoy’d along:
 A waste of time! till Industry approach’d,
 And roused him from his miserable sloth:
 His faculties unfolded; pointed out,
 Where lavish Nature the directing hand
 Of art demanded; show’d him how to raise
 His feeble force by the mechanic powers,
 To dig the mineral from the vaulted earth,
 On what to turn the piercing rage of fire,
 On what the torrent, and the gather’d blast;
 Gave the tall ancient forest to his axe;
 Taught him to chip the wood, and hew the stone,
 Till by degrees the finish’d fabric rose.⁵

McIntire himself also emerges in Thomson’s reference to “his feeble force,” a combination of advancing age and health complications, stemming from ills he originally experienced in his Civil War service, to “chip the wood and hew the stone” as he reaped an abundant late-life harvest by establishing his farm, influencing local politics, helping war veterans, and forging a legacy to benefit his children, grandchildren, and later generations. His diaries and the *Mitchell Commercial* combine to offer a detailed account of his final years, and this chapter seeks to harness that narrative by adding fall-color commentary to the *Commercial* and other newspapers’ written play-by-play as a team of sports announcers might do.

At age 51, With McIntire's newspaper days now behind him, the impact of those 11 years lingered with him for the rest of his life. As a cultural biography of a journalist should do, in previous chapters I discussed how his life experiences affected in a practical way his journalism as editor of the *Commercial*. In the conclusion of this Fall chapter I will consider how his time at the press might have affected his life during his post-newspaper and invalid years.

The fall theme that emerged most prominently during McIntire's time at the *Commercial* was politics, as he commented frequently in the run-up to elections on what he felt the ideal results would be in terms of candidates and ballot initiatives, and in the weeks following the vote McIntire would alternately exult or lament the outcomes of said elections. This key theme of politics will be treated in the section in the Fall chapter that follows McIntire's dismissal from the pension-examining board. McIntire's most prevalent themes in his diaries in the October–December period were the farm and his health. These topics will also be covered extensively as they appear in the narrative. The farm will be considered after the section on McIntire's medical practice, and his health will be explored in the Invalid Years section of this chapter.

McIntire's 1884 record, the next in the series of his diaries that have survived, was his briefest with only 45 entries. The content of his January 1 offering suggests that he was returning to diary writing after an unspecified hiatus, as he noted that Henry and Ella had come home for the holidays on December 19 and 22 from Hanover College and Shoals, Indiana, respectively.⁶ Daughter Mary was living and working in Cincinnati, and the younger children—Lucy, Charles, and John, ages 17, 14, and 10—were still in public school in Mitchell.⁷

By 1884 the family was living in town but had acquired acreage about a mile east of Mitchell, and McIntire and “the boys,” meaning sons Henry, John, and Charles, were often out at “the farm” feeding the cows and sheep, and on one occasion McIntire went there to “sell some hoop poles to a Mr. Keif.”⁸ It is probable that the farm was rented at the time and purchased later because deeds to the adjoining properties that made up the McIntire farm were dated August 3, 1885, and July 19, 1886, respectively, when the McIntires paid Frances Martin and Vincent Cravins \$1,700 total for the land. The first parcel was purchased in Margaret’s name, and the second had Elihu listed as the grantee on the deed.⁹ All told, the farm consisted of about 140 acres.¹⁰

As noted, McIntire had resumed his medical practice in partnership with George W. Burton in March 1882, just over a year before McIntire sold the *Commercial*. In an 1884 diary entry he mentioned that “Dr. Burton was sick [and] was not in the office all day,” which implied that they were still practicing together and treating patients in their office, and, if they remained true to the pattern of country doctors of the time, in people’s homes.¹¹ In diary entries in early 1884 McIntire wrote that he tended to Mollie Davis and a Mrs. Clouse “in childbed” and visited a Mrs. Windell three times for an unspecified illness, receiving 10 dollars each for the two deliveries and two dollars for each of the house calls.¹²

Board of Examining Surgeons

A successful period in the years immediately following McIntire’s time at the *Commercial* could be termed the first Indian Summer he experienced in the fall season of his life. McIntire and Burton not only shared an office and a practice, but they also served with Dr. J. B. Larkin as members of the U.S. Board of Examining Surgeons in Mitchell.¹³

The three conducted physical examinations of Civil War veterans who were applying for or recertifying their eligibility for a pension due to limited or total disability as a result of military service. Acts of Congress in 1862 and 1873 established the parameters of the pension program, which covered veterans from the War of 1812 through the end of the Civil War.¹⁴ In 1885 the pension program was administered by a national commissioner and a staff of 4,000 employees, clerks, pension agents, and examining surgeons. Monthly pensions ranged from 8 to 72 dollars and were paid to the veteran or his surviving widow, dependent parent, or child.¹⁵

According to McIntire's 1884 record, he and Burton examined applicants on Wednesdays and saw an average of 11 "pensioners" per week.¹⁶ Doctors completed a detailed "Surgeon's Certificate" that was signed, mailed to, and evaluated by the national pension office in Washington, D.C.¹⁷ McIntire did not indicate in his diary what salary he received as an examiner, nor did he note when he began or ended that service. Because his scant 1884 record regularly provided dates and numbers of pensioners examined but did not indicate that McIntire started or stopped such work that year, he could have performed the same job in 1883 and continued it into 1885, but no precise start date is known. It can, however, be determined with some accuracy when he left the examining board because it was not of his own volition and was a matter of public record.

General J. C. Black, who served from 1885 to 1889, was appointed national commissioner of pensions by President Grover Cleveland in the spring of 1885.¹⁸ Cleveland, elected in November 1884, was the first Democrat to hold the office since James Buchanan's term from 1857 to 1861. Within a month of Black's appointment, the *Columbus (IN) Herald* reported that he would "shortly reorganize all the Boards of Pension Surgeons in Indiana."¹⁹ That same week the *Rockport (IN) Democrat* suggested

that “under the old administration of affairs the members making up such boards were appointed because they were Republicans. . . . General Black believes in the doctrine of minority representation.” According to the *Democrat*, Black’s plan was to have the three-member boards composed of two Democrats and one Republican.²⁰ One month later the *Indiana State Sentinel* printed a statewide list that included this paragraph: “Mitchell—Drs. G. W. Burton, J. B. Larkin, and E. S. McIntyre [*sic*] have been dropped and Drs. W. A. Burton, J. L. W. Yost and W. T. Ellison appointed” to the Board of Examining Surgeons.²¹

That same week *The Indianapolis News* offered that Burton, Larkin, and McIntire were removed for “offensive partisanship” but did not clarify the specific offense.²² Given the context that there was a new Democratic administration, the first in nearly 30 years, it is reasonable to conclude that McIntire’s staunch, highly public, radical-Republican views did not help his cause in keeping his position on the examining board. As quoted in the *Bloomington (IN) Progress*, the *Mitchell Commercial* came to McIntire’s and his colleagues’ defense, claiming that “they were removed without any cause being assigned, and three Democrats were appointed in their stead. . . . General Black’s promise that examining boards should be non-partisan accords with Democratic fidelity generally.”²³ Apparently, the “offensive partisanship” did not merely apply to McIntire, et al.; it was a term that had come into vogue since the start of the Cleveland Administration and was used as a reason to remove Republicans who were political appointees. Dr. E. S. Elder, secretary of the Indiana State Board of Health, was also removed for “offensive partisanship” later in 1885.²⁴ The *Columbus (IN) Republic*, most certainly a Republican paper, editorialized on the term and observed that it was as empty as it was ubiquitous:

This twaddle about “offensive partisanism” is the silliest of nonsense, and cannot deceive anyone but a fool. What is an offensive partisan? Simply a man who is devoted to his party; a man who has convictions and dares proclaim them, and who therefor, becomes offensive; forsooth to the party of a different political faith. The present administration has had much to say in regard to ‘offensive partisanism,’ but where offensive Republican partisans are removed, is it to be expected that offensive Democratic partisans will not be put in their places? Bah! Give us a rest on catch words and meaningless phrases.²⁵

Given the frequent use of the term at the time, it is likely that McIntire and his colleagues were guilty of little more than being open about their party affiliation. But the fact remained that McIntire again felt the frost of a sudden end to this Indian Summer and had to again look elsewhere for something to bolster his physician income.

The record is essentially silent in the years immediately following McIntire’s dismissal from the examining board. No diary records survive for the years 1885–1887, and there are few newspaper accounts of his activities during those years. There was an 1887 notice in the *Bremen (IN) Enquirer* that McIntire himself had been awarded a military pension.²⁶ No amount was indicated in that article, but his 1888 financial record shows a 90-dollar pension payment every three months, which equated to a 30-dollar-per-month benefit. This development certainly would have helped with McIntire’s finances, but other income-generating sources would also be needed. About the time that McIntire was dismissed from the examining board, newspaper items from the mid-1880s, outlined at the beginning of each of the following sections, illustrated what McIntire was devoting his attention to at this latest of crossroads in his life: practicing medicine, playing politics, trying his entrepreneurial hand one last time, and working the farm.

Medical Activities

An 1885 item in the *Bedford Mail* read thus: “Drs. Yost and McIntire, of Mitchell, were giving medical and surgical treatment to Mrs. Sallie Marks on Saturday last. We are happy to state that she is much improved and hopes are now entertained of her speedy recovery.”²⁷ Apparently, McIntire’s being replaced by Yost on the examining board two months earlier did not prevent the two from collaborating to help a patient, even though Yost belonged to a different political party. Actually, McIntire’s relationship with Yost went far deeper than medicine or a difference in political viewpoints. In his diaries McIntire mentioned Yost 21 times, with these instances serving as examples: Yost offered lodging a few times to McIntire during his insurance-selling days and lent McIntire his horse and saddle; once considered buying McIntire’s “house and lot” in Mitchell; treated McIntire’s daughter Lucy for diphtheria and McIntire himself for dysentery; and applied to purchase life insurance through McIntire. McIntire also recorded the death of Yost’s wife in his diary, as well as the death of Dr. Yost himself nearly 20 years later, “falling dead from heart disease while making a professional call at the Hotel Putnam.”²⁸

His partner in practice, George W. Burton, also merited multiple mentions in McIntire’s diaries, being identified 30 times therein for events like treating McIntire and his children; serving as an investor in McIntire’s kaolin enterprise; being a patient of McIntire’s for dysentery; selling McIntire a heifer; sharing a practice; and visiting McIntire a number of times during McIntire’s invalid years.²⁹ McIntire must have shared a kinship with Burton beyond medicine, for, like McIntire, Burton was a pioneer in Mitchell, serving on the town council and as secretary of the governing board of the Mitchell-based Southern Indiana Normal College.³⁰ Burton was also a Mason and served

during the Civil War as a member of the 17th Indiana Infantry Regiment, resigning due to ill health, and later became assistant surgeon in the 145th Indiana Infantry Regiment. Also, like McIntire, Burton taught school and studied medicine before medical school, and in 1857 took a course of lectures at McIntire's medical alma mater, the College of Physicians and Surgeons in Keokuk, Iowa.³¹

The men belonged, as well, to the Lawrence County and Mitchell District Medical Societies, which later became the Tri-State Medical Society of Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky. Originally, the county society was organized in the 1860s to promote practitioner unity following a malpractice suit, and in 1874 the new district society moved beyond simple solidarity and brought physicians together from a larger geographic area to spend time "discussing scientific subjects and exchanging medical knowledge."³² Both Burton and McIntire were listed among the earliest members of these organizations and could rightfully be called pioneers in the effort that ultimately linked physicians in 22 states, as the tri-state society later evolved into the Mississippi Valley Medical Society.³³

McIntire noted his and Burton's attendance at medical-society meetings and lamented the times when McIntire was unable to go for financial or health reasons. He not only benefitted professionally by mingling with Burton and other fellow doctors at these meetings, but McIntire also derived some financial gain by printing circulars, invitation cards, postal cards, certificates, and ballots for society gatherings, and he summarized those proceedings and published them in the *Commercial*.³⁴ On one trip to the tri-state society convention in Springfield, Illinois, McIntire made his already-referred-to visit to the "Lincoln Monument" in 1878 to pay his respects to the slain president, the trip's being a side benefit to his membership in that medical society.³⁵

As for McIntire's medical practice with Burton, it is not known when they went their separate ways professionally. However, McIntire did continue to see patients on his own on a for-profit basis until about 1888. At that time he wrote that "it is not my intention to do any practice, but can't refuse to call on any of our near neighbors" in reference to house calls to two individuals living nearby who were suffering from neuralgia and bilious fever, respectively.³⁶ There were three more mentions of doctoring in 1891, which consisted of performing a medical examination for a pensioner and two house calls.³⁷ However, that chapter of his life had essentially closed as he began his final decade, and his last house call came less than a year before his death when McIntire visited his old colleague and partner George W. Burton, who was "in bad condition of nervous collapse." How much help he was to Burton on this visit is not known, but McIntire noted his own invalid condition in the same diary entry by adding, "I was not hurt much by the trip."³⁸ Burton passed away a week later, but it appears that McIntire was himself too feeble to attend the funeral, as he mentioned the service in his diary but not his attendance.³⁹

All told, McIntire practiced some form of medicine for more than 20 years (1856–1870; 1883–1891), and these periods do not take into account when he continued to make house calls while plying other full-time professions—insurance sales, newspaper editor, pension-claim agent, and farmer. His medical, editorial, and bucolic lines of work brought him in constant contact with suffering and death, and he would have had to develop the ability to detach himself emotionally from patients, citizens, and livestock, which could have come into play in his seemingly clinical reaction to his granddaughter Lorena's death, as well as in his own suffering during his invalid period.

Politics

After leaving the *Commercial*—voluntarily—and the Board of Examining Surgeons—not by choice—McIntire’s interest in politics continued to hold sway as a significant part of his life. Grover Cleveland was well into his first term as president, and more than a year and a half before the 1888 election McIntire was confident that Cleveland would be unseated, as the *Bedford Mail* recounted:

Dr. McIntire, the former spicy editor of the Mitchell Commercial, remarked the other day in our sanctum: “I will forgive the Democracy for all their sins if they will only re-nominate Cleveland. He is the easiest man for the Republicans to beat.”⁴⁰

McIntire was right. The next year Cleveland did lose to Indiana’s own Benjamin Harrison, but Cleveland regained the White House four years later. He was the only U.S. president to serve two nonconsecutive terms, much to McIntire’s dismay in November 1892: “Charley came home at one last night and brought word of election of Cleveland. I went in town, but not enjoying the hurrah of the Democrats I soon came home.”⁴¹

The example from the *Bedford Mail*, wherein McIntire predicted Cleveland’s defeat in 1888, illustrates that McIntire’s interest in politics did not diminish after he turned over the reins of the partisan *Commercial* to others. In fact, until nearly his dying day McIntire seemed to enjoy the roller coaster that is politics. This inference is drawn from the number of times he figuratively paid his nickel for a ride. As discussed at length in the Summer chapter of this study, he was first and foremost a Republican, and he supported candidates and causes that seemed to him in line with those leanings. McIntire characterized his political views with this pithy commentary in the *Commercial* in 1881: “We do believe that the Republican party is always nearer right than the Democratic party.”⁴²

Nationally, McIntire's politics were based on supporting woman suffrage, temperance, a gold-backed currency, protection for the poor and weak, and equal treatment for all races.⁴³ In the *Commercial* he summarized his stance on government and racial equality this way:

The only proper solution to the Indian question is to give no exclusive privileges to the Red men. Make the noble Indian an American citizen. Annul all reservation[s]. Give every man a right to a homestead. Make every man a voter, unless he be a criminal. Open the Indian Territory to settlement, admit it as a State. Give us a government strong enough to protect the weak. These just measures will settle the Indian question, the Negro question and the Chinese question. Our doctrine is: Protection to all, no exclusive privileges to any.⁴⁴

Regarding the "Indian question," as noted previously, McIntire gave little attention to Native Americans in surviving issues of his newspaper, and his silence was total when it came to his diary.

By the time McIntire began his *Commercial* run in 1872, Congress had passed the Indian Appropriation of 1871, which both nullified all prior treaties between the U.S. government and individual tribes and prohibited future such treaties.⁴⁵ The next few years saw violent clashes between the U.S. Army and a number of tribes throughout the West, the most prominent example being the Little Bighorn in Montana, where General George Custer and hundreds of soldiers died in a battle with Lakota Sioux and Cheyenne warriors in June 1876.⁴⁶ The incident created a stir in newspapers nationwide, but the subsequent, surviving issue of the *Commercial* (September 1876) makes no mention of it. However, McIntire's just-cited "solution" that he offered in 1881 in the *Commercial*—citizenship for the "noble Indian," the abolishment of reservations, and the opening of the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) to settlement—suggests that he supported the rights of Native Americans to live where they wished and to enjoy the freedoms afforded to all American citizens.⁴⁷

McIntire's broad concern that all be treated with dignity even extended to some wild birds brutalized by local men and boys at a December 25 event:

On Christmas day a gang of men and boys collected on the common south of town for a turkey shooting. For inhuman cruelty their actions would be hard to surpass. A turkey would be tied and used as a target, when some fellow would wound it a gang of bad and cruel boys would rush off and carry in the poor bird holding it up by the string with which it had been tied, it flapping and bleeding. It was astonishing to see persons claiming to be civilized men enjoy such cruelty. It is very evident that Christianity has not, in one thousand, eight hundred and eighty years, succeeded in civilizing men sufficient to cause them to properly celebrate the anniversary of the founder of the Christian religion. No wonder we hear the question asked if Christianity is a failure. Worse than all, we learn that there is no law to punish men and boys for such cruelty.⁴⁸

McIntire added that "A good many parents in Mitchel [*sic*] are training up their children for the penitentiary or the gallows."⁴⁹ He editorialized that the cause of much of the town's mischief was idleness—practiced by boys and permitted by parents.⁵⁰

Locally, McIntire personified the boosterism that was prevalent in the mid-19th century by clamoring for the railroad tax; better sidewalks and schools; respect for life, law, and order; and encouraging commerce as the best ways to build up Mitchell and Lawrence County.⁵¹ This example from an 1881 edition of McIntire's paper illustrates that support: "The COMMERCIAL is not losing any subscribers by advocating the railroad tax. We have never lost any thing by battling manfully for the best interests of the town. And we will not."⁵² In this case, however, McIntire did lose the railroad-tax battle, as the initiative was defeated four weeks later.⁵³

McIntire's politics primarily were from the standpoint of interested observer or orchestrator. While he never held office other than to serve as a clerk in Pontoosuc Township and a trustee for the Mitchell public schools, he certainly used his newspaper, his influence, and his energies to support Republican candidates and conservative causes wherever and whenever he could.⁵⁴ Recall that such efforts personified the boosterism

that Boorstin described as “the preoccupation with the growth and prosperity of one’s city,” and McIntire saw the politics of the GOP as one way to achieve this goal.⁵⁵

As noted already, his newspaper was filled with political news and commentary, and his diaries also mentioned political news and his own efforts to promote his brand of politics. McIntire was a regular attendee and active participant at county and state Republican conventions; he followed the national Republican and Democratic conventions in presidential-election years; and he recorded in his diary the passing of both key legislation and prominent political and military leaders, such as General William Tecumseh Sherman, Indiana Governor Alvin P. Hovey, and Supreme Court Justice Joseph P. Bradley.⁵⁶ His most passionate political support, however, he naturally gave for his own son Henry, when he ran for county surveyor. McIntire paid for newspaper announcements for his son’s candidacy, and he sent his business partner to Bedford and Huron a few times in early 1892 “in the interests of Henry’s nomination,” which might have included courting political or financial support or both.⁵⁷ Henry won the Republican primary in March 1892 by a 488-vote majority, carried the election in the fall, and was sworn in by December of that year. Two years later he was reelected, receiving 1,000 votes more than his Democratic opponent, and no doubt his father Elihu was again supportive of his candidacy.⁵⁸

In his invalid years, McIntire remained as active in politics as his health would allow. His health limitations will be addressed, but even in his frail, weakened condition, McIntire somehow found it within him to ride to Mitchell to personally cast the last vote of his life in November 1898: “I went to town to the election at nine, the trip wore me out badly. I had to go to bed on my return.”⁵⁹ McIntire must have taken comfort the

following day in his last reference to politics in his diaries: “Election returns are meager, [but] indications are that Congress remains Republican.”⁶⁰

Business Venture

McIntire was no stranger to the risk-taking life of the entrepreneur. This history has traced his less-than-prosperous attempts at selling life insurance, leasing land in anticipation of the planned Rockport railroad, and speculating in coal and iron deposits. Even the *Commercial* and his intermittent medical practice were not sure things, as none of them appeared to provide a steady, long-term income for him and his family, as evidenced by his frequent career changes. As noted previously, McIntire shared a medical practice with George W. Burton after McIntire left the *Commercial* in 1883 and served on the Board of Examining Surgeons until 1885 when he was removed for what was most likely political reasons. At that point McIntire appeared to limp along financially in his medical practice with Burton while looking for something better to come along.

McIntire’s February 1888 diary entry that it was not his “intention to do any practice” implies that by this time he had discontinued his medical partnership with Burton. With the benefit of hindsight, other diary entries around this same time, taken together, appear to outline a new venture:

- February 14, 1888: Got \$12.50 of pension attorney's fee from the Cravens case.
- March 9, 1888: George W. Homer, from Davies County, was out to see me to get a certificate in a pension claim.
- April 3, 1888: F. M. Lewan came out to see me to get a certificate in his pension claim.
- April 28, 1888: Charles Tanksley got notice of his pension being allowed him.

- May 13, 1888: In the afternoon Monroe Massey came out. I wrote for him to his old orderly Sergt, David Lature, of Raymond, Neb. for a certificate in his pension clause.
- May 31, 1888: I rode horseback to town and made a certificate for Mrs. Daniel in her pension claim.
- May 31, 1888: I wrote letters for Monroe Massey in his pension claim.

What is missing from these entries is any broad explanation for the individual activities described therein. McIntire, now 56, was assisting fellow veterans or their dependents with some aspect or another of their pension claims by writing letters and making certificates. What type of certificates is not specified, but given his profession as a physician they were probably medical in nature. No longer a member of the examining board, McIntire could not conduct official examinations, but through his medical background and his knowledge of the pension-exam system he could potentially certify a particular claimant's health issue or flag it for further review in such a way that the doctors on the board, all of whom would have been colleagues of his in the local medical community, might endorse it. McIntire was also a pension recipient himself, having been granted one for 30 dollars a month in 1887, and he would have been versant in the process from the perspective of claimant.

The remuneration of \$12.50 listed in his February 14, 1888, diary entry as his portion of the fee to the client equates to \$332.58 in 2015 dollars, a healthy sum that might have ultimately provided the motivation behind this move by McIntire a few months later: "I went in town in the forenoon and formed a partnership with A. W. Jones to prosecute pension claims."⁶¹ He added three days later, "Wrot[e] a request to be admitted to practice in the Pension Department in partnership with Jones as a firm, Jones & McIntire."⁶² These statements also explain the other just-referenced diary entries in

that McIntire was probably testing the waters to see if assisting with pension claims for a fee was a viable opportunity. Jones was a pension attorney, a sensible choice for pension-claims partner, and might have been the same person who provided a portion of his fee to McIntire earlier in the year.⁶³

In the late 1880s the claim-agent profession was well known to most veterans, families, and politicians. Veterans from the War of 1812 forward collected monthly monetary benefits for enduring documented, service-related conditions that adversely affected their health. Agents advertised their services in local newspapers. McIntire himself ran such notices in the *Commercial* in 1881. Here is an example:

PENSIONS are paid every soldier disabled in the line of duty by accident or otherwise. A WOUND of any kind, loss of finger, toe, or eye, RUPTURE, if but slight, disease of Lungs or Varicose Veins give a pension. Under new law thousands are entitled to an increase of pension. Widows, orphans, and dependent fathers or mothers of soldiers who died in the army get a pension. BOUNTY—Discharge for wound, injuries or rupture, gives full bounty. Send 2 stamps for copy Pension and Bounty Acts. P. H. Fitzgerald & Co., Indianapolis, Ind.⁶⁴

In 1865, 72,684 pension claims were filed, and that number jumped to 141,466 in 1879 after the “notorious Arrears Act” was passed. In 1887 and 1888, 72,465 and 75,726 claims were filed, respectively. McIntire must have been aware of this fact and perhaps surmised that the demand for claim-agent services was steady enough that he might enter the profession.⁶⁵

Immediately upon formalizing his partnership with Jones, McIntire advertised his services in surrounding counties and began attending soldier reunions to find veterans who wished to file pension claims.⁶⁶ Early on in his pension enterprise, while en route to one such reunion, he came across veterans “collecting” on the train, which meant they were asking passengers for money. McIntire did not comment on how he felt about seeing his fellow soldiers reduced to panhandling on railcars, but it affected him enough

that he recorded it, and the experience might have provided him additional motivation to do what he could to help veterans obtain the pension benefits they had earned.⁶⁷

McIntire recorded faithfully in his diary the names of persons he did pension work for. Most cases involved filing an “original” claim, meaning that the veteran had never filed for benefits, or a request for an increase in their monthly benefit.⁶⁸ Occasionally, McIntire and Jones helped secure pension payments for heirs or widows of deceased soldiers or even an aging parent who was dependent on the soldier for their support.⁶⁹ In his diary McIntire noted the dozens of times that a client received a new pension award or an increase in the monthly amount awarded to them.⁷⁰ Increases for McIntire’s clients ranged from one dollar to 20 dollars a month.⁷¹ Apparently, he and Jones had an impressive track record in that there were only three instances where he recorded in his diary that a request for increase of pension was rejected.⁷² The two partners were nothing if not persistent, and McIntire even wrote directly to the “Commissioner of Pensions” on at least two occasions on behalf of their clients and a few times asked the Pension Department to make a client’s case “special.”⁷³ Their persistence appeared to be supremely tested with the case of Uriah Chapman, of Crawford County, starting in August 1888, when McIntire “wrote up an original claim for him,” which was not approved by the government until November 1892, more than four years later.⁷⁴

The typical arrangement with claim agents was that no money was charged to the client unless and until the government approved or increased the pension amount.⁷⁵ However, as often as he mentioned pensions in his diaries (nearly 200 times), McIntire never indicated how much he and Jones charged for their services. The business seemed to go in fits and starts, alternating between a flurry of applications—“We are not getting responses from the Pension office to suit us”—and “we find business dull [in]

pensions.”⁷⁶ The enterprise seemed to prosper enough that Jones and McIntire continued together for a period that can only be estimated as lasting between four and six years because McIntire never recorded when he and Jones dissolved their partnership. No diary from 1893 or 1894 survives, and in 1895 McIntire only mentioned pensions in his diary when referring to filling out his own voucher or receiving his pension check. An exception was when an examiner from the Pension Department came to interview him about a pending pension case.⁷⁷ Thus, McIntire most likely had retired from the pension-claims arena by 1895, but Jones continued working as a pension agent as late as 1903.⁷⁸ From 1895 on, McIntire only mentioned pensions when recording in his diary that he made out his own pension voucher (four times a year) and when his pension check, with three month’s worth of benefits, arrived a few days later.⁷⁹

Summing up his pension-agent enterprise, it could be likened to a second Indian Summer period in the autumn of his life in that McIntire must have enjoyed a large-enough measure of success to continue with Jones for as long as he did. McIntire’s deteriorating physical condition might have been the metaphorical frost that catalyzed the scaling back of his partnership with Jones in the 1893–1895 time frame to where his only pension-processing activity was to look after his own entitlements. But pensions accounted for only a portion of his energies during this Indian Summer redux, as he also began to pursue the full spectrum of farm life.

The Farm

McIntire started life on the farm, and that is what he returned to in his later years, as indicated in the *Bedford Mail*: “Dr. W. H. [sic] McIntire, formerly editor of the Mitchell Commercial, was in town last Friday and called. The Doctor now lives on a

farm near Mitchell and is turning his attention to bucolic pursuits.”⁸⁰ McIntire’s private record is rife with references to his farm and farm life, but he left no overall description of the land, landscape or its animal occupants. However, maps and county records from the period do offer a few details. An 1889 tax registry indicated that the McIntire farm consisted of 140 acres: 63 of those were in Margaret Bowers McIntire’s name, and the other 77 were listed with Elihu S. McIntire as their owner.⁸¹ The land was valued at \$460 for Margaret’s share and \$350 for the portion owned by Elihu. In the same record McIntire’s personal property was valued at \$530, which probably included household belongings, farm animals, and farm equipment. Margaret’s land included \$160 in improvements, while Elihu’s parcel had none.⁸² From this information it can be inferred that Margaret’s acreage probably included the house and outbuildings, while Elihu’s most likely consisted of pasture and arable land.

An 1879 atlas shows the farm located about two miles due east of Mitchell and bounded on the south by the east-west Ohio & Mississippi railroad tracks.⁸³ McIntire noted in his diary that he could observe and hear passing trains from his house, and he occasionally walked along the tracks for exercise or used them as a footpath to town when the roads were muddy or impassable.⁸⁴ In 2016 the southwest corner of the property coincided with the intersection of Mill Creek and Ball Roads. Burris Elementary School currently lies on the southern edge of the old farm, and a few farmhouses and trailer homes are scattered along the northern edge. The bulk of the land appeared to still be used for grazing except for a dense concentration of oak trees in what was the center of the McIntire acreage. The land itself consists of gentle, rolling hills, much more similar to Charles McIntire’s farm in Spencer County, Indiana, than the steep hills of the family’s land in Washington-Monroe County, Ohio. McIntire mentioned a pond on his

place, which he used as a water and ice source, and in 2016 there was a pond on the property, which might have been in the same location as when McIntire lived on the farm.⁸⁵

Little was recorded in McIntire's diaries about the house in which he and his family lived on the farm. He did describe an addition built onto his house in 1896 that included a new porch.⁸⁶ A diary entry in 1897, coupled with an undated photograph found among family papers of the descendants of John Bowers McIntire, Elihu's youngest son, might offer additional clues about the McIntire farmhouse. The entry reads as follows: "Mr. and Mrs. Magers came out and took a picture of our house. The day was like summer. I was out on the porch in my roller chair, the first time I have been out of the door since winter begun."⁸⁷

The photograph shows a two-story frame house with what looks to be an older, bearded man seated on the covered porch with two women standing beside him and two other young ladies standing at the gate in front of the house. The man seated on the porch could very well be Elihu in his "roller chair." The woman standing at his side is probably his wife Margaret. The other woman standing in the background on the porch may be Mrs. Magers, and the two young ladies in front of the house could be McIntire's daughter Lucy and the Magers' daughter Norma, mentioned by name on another occasion in McIntire's diary.⁸⁸ Since no other men are seen in the photograph, Mr. Magers could very well have been the photographer. The leafless fruit trees in the photograph appear to be budding, and one of the young ladies pictured is in a shirtwaist with no coat, both of which are consistent with an April time frame and McIntire's diary description of warm temperatures that day.⁸⁹

References to farm animals dotted McIntire's diary. Cows (including calves, heifers, and bulls) were mentioned about 60 times, and most of these were in connection with the dropping (birth) of a bull or heifer calf or the sale of a cow or bull and the corresponding price.⁹⁰ McIntire generally sold individual cows or bulls for 15 to 50 dollars, and a combination of a cow and calf for 25 to 50 dollars.⁹¹ In one case McIntire sold a cow to E. L. Lee, a subsequent editor of the *Commercial*. Ten days later Lee returned the animal for an undisclosed reason, and McIntire immediately sent his son Charles with the cow to nearby Huron to see Dr. Yandell, who was a medical doctor like McIntire but might have had some expertise in the treatment of animals. McIntire did not indicate the final result of the transaction with Lee or the condition of the cow.⁹² Other than this instance, however, these sales appeared to be a reliable source of income, and the majority of them took place between January and May during calving season, and the need for the newborn to remain with its mother might account for why cows and calves were sold together.

Beef was also a source of food for McIntire's family. But, he left the slaughtering to others, as he wrote in his 1888 diary: "The butchers came out to kill a beef for us, so to be away from home I went to town and stayed all day. Did nothing but loaf."⁹³ Some of the dressed meat in this instance was sent to the "widow Dove," and the rest was "put up to smoke" by McIntire himself.⁹⁴ Milk was certainly another bovine by-product used by the family, and McIntire mentioned his Jersey dairy cows 16 times in his record. He referenced milking directly only once when a man named Peyton "came to do the milking," and he alluded to it in another entry when "Mrs. M. got hurt by a cow working her over this morning and is right badly off."⁹⁵

Hogs were also sources of food and income for McIntire, being mentioned about 30 times in his private writings. Again, McIntire did not take part in the slaughtering process, as neighbors and his own sons saw to that task, but he did list the ages and gross weights of the pigs and the net yield of meat in pounds.⁹⁶ When his sows farrowed, McIntire noted the occurrences in his diary, taking care to mention how many were in the litters and how many survived.⁹⁷ It appears that McIntire dealt strictly in Berkshire hogs, which have a reputation for flavor and quality of hide.⁹⁸ He bought and sold a number of Berkshires at auction and by mail order, in one instance netting \$26.50 for four hogs in 1891, and he had both sows and boars listed in the national records of the American Berkshire Association.⁹⁹ McIntire was even seen as an expert in some pig circles. He noted in his 1888 diary that the state commissioner of agriculture had contacted him with questions about hog cholera.¹⁰⁰ His hogs also functioned as legal tender in one case when McIntire traded two young sows for 60 bushels of corn.¹⁰¹ Given the value of his Berkshires, it was not surprising when a lost pig made the local news: “John McIntire was out looking for a fine hog that was lost Sunday.”¹⁰² There was no further mention in McIntire’s diary or in the *Commercial* as to whether the peripatetic porker was found. Wandering animals were not exclusive to McIntire’s hogs, however. When he sold a cow to John Challoux in 1891, the animal escaped from her new owner’s place and found her way back to the McIntire farm.¹⁰³

Sheep were mentioned about as many times as the hogs in McIntire’s diaries, but apparently they were not a food source for the family. Instead, they were used for marketing wool. Tallies for sheep shearing found their way to McIntire’s diary:

May 3, 1888: Neal Johnson sheared our sheep to-day, we had but fifteen. Got 5 lb. of wool per sheep.

May 7, 1891: Sold our wool, an average of 7 4/9 lb. per sheep.

May 5, 1892: We sent our wool to market, our sheep averaged just six pounds, we only got 20 cents.

May 3, 1895: Henry took our wool to Orleans, sold it at ten cents.

Sometimes sheep were sold for mutton, and in one case McIntire sold two with a combined weight of 230 pounds for \$8.25. In 1895 an entire flock of 35 sheep earned 70 dollars for McIntire, a much-less-profitable venture than his prized Berkshire hogs.¹⁰⁴ McIntire also recorded the dropping of new lambs. In most cases, they arrived without incident.¹⁰⁵ But in 1895 he wrote: “We had two lambs dropped last night, both froze to death; we are losing more than half of the lambs that come.”¹⁰⁶

Other creatures common to the farm—horses, turkeys, and bees—were mentioned occasionally in McIntire’s record. Although horses were ubiquitous for that time period, McIntire seldom wrote about his own other than to indicate that he “talked with a Mr. Lee about breeding [*sic*] my pony to his Morgan horse, and “the old pony foaled a horse colt last night.”¹⁰⁷ He did prefer using “pony” when referring to his horses, and once described an occasion where the animal “balked” when hitched up to the plow to turn the garden, “so they could do no good.”¹⁰⁸ McIntire mentioned that his grown son Charles, by that time in his 20s, “swapped his pony for a bycicle [*sic*],” a mode of transportation that had skyrocketed in popularity during the 1890s.¹⁰⁹ Turkeys were the topic of one diary entry in 1895: “Our folks sold our turkeys, getting 66⅔ cents apiece.”¹¹⁰ Some of the birds must have also found their way to the table, as McIntire wrote of serving his guests a “turkey dinner.”¹¹¹ He also had beehives on his place, presumably to help pollenate his fruit trees, or the hives might have been a source of honey or wax. McIntire wrote that he studied a “bee paper” to learn about the subject, then within a month

arranged with a local keeper, Dr. Morris, to obtain a “lively colony” for his farm.¹¹² He must have maintained ties with Morris because four years later the doctor returned and “overhauled our bee hives.”¹¹³

McIntire grew and cultivated a variety of crops on his farm, some of which were visible in the photograph previously mentioned. The inside of the fenced yard appears to have ground cover, and McIntire mentioned sowing clover “around the house” in 1888. Clover was a popular choice for lawns during that period; it kept the dust down and prevented erosion of the soil.¹¹⁴ There is a well at the southeast corner of the house, which, according to McIntire’s diary, was dug in 1891 and went 52 feet deep.¹¹⁵ Fruit trees and berry bushes are also visible in the yard, and in his record McIntire discussed planting and pruning apple, cherry, peach, pear, and plum trees, as well as cultivating raspberries, gooseberries, blackberries, strawberries, currants, and grapes. Frequent were McIntire’s and his sons’ trips to the local nursery to buy plants rather than trying to start them from seed, and after the plants were mature McIntire would share starts with friends.¹¹⁶ Other excitement surrounding the family’s fruit trees occurred when a wild cherry tree and later a Kiefer pear tree were struck by lightning near the house.¹¹⁷

Berries were a source of food and income on McIntire’s farm. He described the family ritual of “picking and marketing” raspberries and strawberries.¹¹⁸ Raspberries brought 12.5 cents per quart in 1892. McIntire mentioned selling strawberries a number of times, and on one occasion his boys sold 30 gallons of them, but he never indicated the going rate for the fruit.¹¹⁹ He did explain, however, that there was a “home market” for their strawberries and they sent “a few cases to Bedford” to their customers, but because of a spell of wet weather in 1892, “many must rot in the garden.”¹²⁰

On one occasion in 1888 a fruit-tree agent, B. F. Newkirk, of Fort Ritner, called on McIntire as a potential customer. The man left empty-handed, McIntire wrote that evening, because “I, of course, bought no trees from an agent.”¹²¹ He did not elaborate on his aversion to purchasing his trees that way, but he apparently preferred to buy them from Curry’s nursery in Mitchell, which he did on several occasions, and his apple tree of choice was the Ben Davis variety, which was known at the time for being a “healthy and productive” option.¹²² Perhaps his penchant for buying trees locally rather than from an agent was a form of the boosterism he preached in the *Commercial*.

Once planted, fruit trees required regular attention. There was the pruning in the spring and fall, and the wielder of the pruning knife hazarded the safety of his extremities. McIntire recorded that Henry once cut his leg, and McIntire himself cut his finger with the blade and complained that “a tied-up thumb makes me very awkward,” when he tried to write about the mishap in his diary.¹²³ Spraying was a necessary activity for fruit crops, and McIntire used Bordeaux mixture as a fungicide on his grapevines, which is a combination of copper sulfate and slaked lime. However, his pesticide of choice was London Purple, an arsenic-based compound that was effective on the plant-killing caterpillars and curculios (a weevil) that infested his fruit trees. The mixture later proved to be equally lethal on the plants themselves, and its use was generally discontinued around 1900.¹²⁴

Picking and putting up fruit was a common activity for McIntire’s family. “The boys” generally picked, and “the folks,” most likely Margaret and the daughters living at home, did the canning and preserving, which included making cider and apple butter.¹²⁵ The yield of apples was sufficient that McIntire was able to twice send “a barrel of apples to Mary,” who was living in Cincinnati, but unlike McIntire’s berry business, there was

but one recorded instance in his diaries of profiting from the sale of fruit: “The folks were gathering and selling plums,” he wrote in 1895.¹²⁶

A successful fruit crop could be both boon and bane. When there was too much for the family alone to pick, they called in help, as in these examples: “Kelly’s little boys helped to pick raspberries,” “Fred Parrott came to work, trimmed raspberries,” and “We had Tomlinson working to-day trimming grapevines.”¹²⁷ Fruit growers and farmers often find themselves at the mercy of the elements, and as fruit and grain depend heavily on temperature and precipitation, this fact may account at least in part for McIntire’s more-than-passing interest in the weather. Sometimes frost worked against them, as McIntire recorded in his diary:

May 5, 1891: We built fires in the orchard and garden to try to save the fruit.

May 6, 1891: Fruit is badly injured. Plums and grapes are nearly all killed, and the strawberries appear to be ruined.

April 20, 1897: There was a hard freeze this morning killing much of the fruit, the plums and peaches being out in full bloom, ice formed an inch thick.

June 6, 1898: Another freeze this morning, likely killing all the stoned fruit, except it be late plums and late blooming peaches.

As editor, McIntire was equally troubled in the *Commercial* about the damage to the fruit crop: “The peach buds are killed,” and “The peach buds are actually killed, we have this from men who are not pessimists,” are examples of this chronic concern.¹²⁸

McIntire also noted the effects of extended periods of dry weather, using the colloquial term *drouth* to refer to such conditions: “We had a fine rain . . . the very serious drouth is broken;” “The drouth is becoming fearful, the hot sun is burning up grass and gardens;” “The horrid drouth continues, our corn, which is late, is entirely ruined;” “Drouth continues over the whole country;” and “An excellent rain fell this

morning, breaking the drouth.”¹²⁹ Mentions of the other environmental extreme—flooding—also found their way into McIntire’s diary: “Dreadful flood in the Ohio,” “Destructive flood in all the rivers,” and “There was a wash-out on the railroad at Medora No trains over the R.R. makes our place lonesome.”¹³⁰ Most days, however, McIntire and sons worked under conditions that fell somewhere between famine and flood.

McIntire and his family spent a significant amount of time in their garden, which he recorded dozens of times in his diary. Early mentions of gardening were from his first Mitchell years when the family lived in town and kept a small plot on their property. He worked in the garden during his insurance days on those few occasions when he was home, but he was not specific about the seed or start selection other than to write that he planted raspberries, currants, unspecified vegetables, and “reubarb” [*sic*].¹³¹ Later when McIntire moved to the farm, his plant variety included peas, mangolds (a type of chard), cucumbers, potatoes, corn, melons, lima beans, tomatoes, cabbage, turnips, and strawberries.¹³² McIntire obtained seeds from the Commissioner of Agriculture and by mail order, and strawberries, raspberries, and turnips appear to be the only garden products McIntire sold; the rest must have been for family consumption.¹³³

Among the most labor-intensive, time-consuming, and worry-producing activities on McIntire’s farm were planting, caring for, and harvesting his grain and other cultivars. Although he referred to his “farm” east of Mitchell as early as 1884 in the context of keeping some animals there, McIntire did not begin farming in the traditional sense until 1888, as he explained in this late-February diary entry:

Began operation for farming to-day, staked off some ground in forenoon and afternoon. Hez. Kelly began to plow for oats sowing. The ground is not

entirely thawed out in protected places. . . . The getting about the fields was too much for me and I am used up this evening.¹³⁴

Besides fixing the start date of McIntire's full-on farming activities, this entry also demonstrates his dependence on neighbors for help on the farm, on Mother Nature—in this case to soften the frozen ground—and the toll that farm work took on him physically. McIntire not only raised grain on his own place, but he also rented about 20 acres on a farm about two miles east of his own, "Turley's Mill," as he called it in his diary, and planted oats in partnership with George Hostetler.¹³⁵

The farming ritual remained fairly constant for McIntire between 1888 and 1899. In the growing season, March and April were reserved for clearing, burning, plowing, sowing clover seed, and tapping maple trees.¹³⁶ May saw the planting of corn, and June was the start for cutting and shocking wheat (tying it in bundles).¹³⁷ Wheat was threshed and sold, oats mowed, hay cut, and turnips sown in July and August.¹³⁸ September was the month for cutting corn, plowing and harrowing for wheat, which was drilled (planted) and dusted (the process of applying "bone dust and phosphates" during the planting process to nourish the young seeds), and apples were harvested in October.¹³⁹ Some harvesting continued even later in the year—corn and turnips were noted particularly—but on the McIntire place, farm-related activities from November through February consisted mainly of pruning, slaughtering hogs and calves, constructing outbuildings, putting up ice, and grinding grain for livestock feed or purchasing it outright.¹⁴⁰

Another task on the farm that required financial and physical wherewithal was keeping the house in wood and coal during the months outside the growing season. McIntire observed the difference that a well-stocked woodpile made for the family's comfort: "The boys were hauling wood forenoon. Takes an immense lot of wood to keep

one fireplace going, but it makes the room so much pleasanter.”¹⁴¹ Sometimes McIntire enlisted others for this task. In 1891 he paid a man named Collins \$2.50 to cut “stove wood” and rails for him.¹⁴² Coal was an alternative to wood and an item frequently mentioned in McIntire’s diary and financial register, including having son Charles build a coal bin in 1892 and son John haul three loads of coal, which weighed a total of 5,365 pounds, and for which McIntire paid \$9.39, or \$269.68 in 2015 dollars.¹⁴³

McIntire pursued farm life in earnest from 1888 until his death in 1899, and this recitation offers a general glimpse into what was required of him and his family to make a go of it. By financial measures, McIntire’s farm was not a noteworthy success, as he did not become wealthy doing it, but the following observation, which was reprinted from the *Indiana Farmer* in the *Commercial* in 1881, suggests that he might have succeeded in other important ways:

One of our agents from one of the Western counties of the State, writes us that when approaching a certain farmer to ask him to subscribe for some papers, this farmer replied: “If you will lend me a shotgun so I could use the papers for wads, I would take them, for papers are of no other use.” That farmer takes no papers. His farm and fences and all about him are in a fearful wreck. His children are ignorant, and as a neighbor he is stupid and worthless. He won’t read the thoughts of others, or learn what practical and successful farmers are doing, or how they become successful in their pursuits. Every State has a few such people. They live, and eat, and die and are forgotten, except by their successors on their farms, who find them so utterly wrecked by ignorance and thriftlessness as to require to be made over. Give us fewer shotgun farmers and more intelligent and useful ones.¹⁴⁴

This section has demonstrated that McIntire was certainly among the “intelligent and useful” farmers of his day, continually staying abreast of farm and other concerns that affected his community, regularly sending his sons to assist neighboring farmers, and teaching his children the importance of both education and hard work. All of these could be an indication of how McIntire’s journalism shaped his final years in the sense that, as

a newspaperman, he had to keep current on the issues that affected him and other farmers, he was not blind to the needs of his neighbors, and he appeared to practice what he preached in the *Commercial* about learning and being gainfully occupied by instilling these values in his posterity.

Over the years as he constantly tried to provide a comfortable living for his wife Margaret, his family and his health undoubtedly had been a lifelong priority for McIntire. Now during his autumn years his circumstances created time and space for him to reflect on both. The remaining pages of this chapter consider his relationship with his children, grandchildren, and wife Margaret, as well as how his physical limitations shaped and added fall color to the closing scenes of his life.

Children, Grandchildren, and “Wife”

Elihu and Margaret Bowers McIntire had six children, each of whom lived to adulthood.¹⁴⁵ While he mentioned each of his children liberally in his diaries, for the most part McIntire remained emotionally silent when referring to them, retaining his matter-of-fact writing style to describe their goings and comings. In keeping with Carey’s call for capturing “how [it felt] to live and act in a particular period,” in a cultural biography it is fitting to also consider how McIntire as a father, grandfather, and husband documented his interactions with his children, his grandchildren, and his wife Margaret. Exploring those few instances when he revealed his innermost feelings for them could reveal a side to McIntire that few people knew. In lieu of birth order, the children are discussed in the order of most mentioned to least mentioned in McIntire’s diaries.

Of the six siblings, Henry was named most often in his father’s diaries, with 383 mentions. McIntire noted in his diary on two occasions, in 1892 and 1898, that Henry’s

birthday coincided with his parents' anniversary, having been born in 1862, six years after Elihu and Margaret were married.¹⁴⁶

According to his 1878 diary, where Henry was first mentioned, McIntire began to depend on his 15-year-old son to help in the *Commercial* office with printing and mailing.¹⁴⁷ Over the years Henry appeared to assume more and more responsibility for the house and farm, and he often handled his father's business affairs in town when for health reasons McIntire needed a surrogate, such as paying bills or attending military reunions, encampments, and political meetings.¹⁴⁸ In his diary McIntire did not comment specifically about his and Henry's relationship, so it remains a question how McIntire felt about Henry's involvement in the printing business in both Mitchell and Bedford, his entry into politics and the fraternal order by taking the first degree and becoming a Master Mason shortly thereafter.¹⁴⁹

Henry's primary occupation was that of surveyor, which he pursued intermittently during McIntire's lifetime, and as already noted, he served for a time as surveyor of Lawrence County.¹⁵⁰ Henry worked out of town for extended periods. He lived in Bedford when he was with the newspaper, and he also worked for the O & M and the Santa Fe railroads as a surveyor of new lines in Illinois and Kansas, respectively.¹⁵¹ But at planting and harvest time, Henry and his brothers generally dropped everything to work on the family farm and in their neighbors' fields each year.¹⁵² When not working out of town Henry lived at home, not only to help with the farm but to also tend to his father's needs when McIntire was confined to his wheelchair or bed.¹⁵³ Henry married Lillie Ann Landreth, 14 years his junior, in December 1906, seven years after the death of his father.¹⁵⁴

Charles was named 232 times in his father's diaries. As with Henry, McIntire faithfully recorded "Charley's" comings and goings during his teen and early adult years. Charles was a lifelong teacher, and along with sister Lucy, garnered the first mention of any of McIntire's children in their father's 1871 diary when they came down with a case of the mumps.¹⁵⁵ Charles was mentioned most often in connection with farm work, which suggests that he was called upon more than his brothers to harrow, plant, cure meat, and haul wood, coal, and fodder.¹⁵⁶ McIntire had to balance his desire to support his children with his unpredictable health. In one case the weather won: he missed Charles' high-school graduation, and he lamented in his diary that "the boys have gone but is raining so I do not go."¹⁵⁷

Charles also accompanied Henry on road-surveying projects, serving as "flagman," and he merited one of the rare expressions of emotion that McIntire recorded in his diaries when Charles left Mitchell in 1895 to help his new brother-in-law, William Emery, to transport livestock to Emery's new farm in Louisiana: "Charley going away gives me much trouble, and I am very weak."¹⁵⁸ Charles was gone for an extended period, and McIntire, offering a bland description in comparison to the depiction of his son's departure, simply recorded the return thus: "Charley came home by the noon train, after an absence of five and a half months."¹⁵⁹

Charles seemed to be in a position of trust with his father, as he was often sent to town to pay bills and gather news about political conventions and elections.¹⁶⁰ He was also the one dispatched to Cincinnati to be with his sister Mary when her daughter Lorena became seriously ill, rallied, and later passed away.¹⁶¹ McIntire appeared to rely heavily on son Charles, just as he did Henry. Like his brother, Charles did not marry until several

years after his father's death when he wed Mabel Walls in September 1908 at the age of 39.¹⁶²

John, the youngest son of Elihu and Margaret, received 172 mentions in his father's personal record. He was first identified therein in October 1878 as "Johnnie," when at age 5 he accompanied Dr. McIntire on a house call to see a patient named Donaldson.¹⁶³ McIntire taught John at an early age to work. At age 7 John sold copies of *The Indianapolis News* with 12-year-old brother Charles.¹⁶⁴ On occasion John was kept home from school to help with the farm, and after high school he worked there intermittently doing plowing and planting when his employment did not take him away from home.¹⁶⁵

John attended the normal college in Mitchell, graduated with his teaching certificate, and then taught and boarded at the location of the schools where he was employed.¹⁶⁶ He returned on the weekends and headed back to work on foot or horseback, or with an occasional ride from Henry or Charley.¹⁶⁷ When he was home John attended political conventions with Charles and helped Henry set stakes on newly surveyed roads.¹⁶⁸ After teaching for four to five years John began to work for the railroad, first as a telegraph operator and later as a bill clerk, ticket agent, and district agent, all of which took him away from home for months at a time.¹⁶⁹ John's extended absences from home were difficult for his father, who recorded contrasting emotions in his diary in early 1899:

January 1, 1899: We had a happy New-year, on account of John coming home at 12:45 this morning, unexpectedly. He has been away at Cincinnati for more than a year.

January 3, 1899: John left on the eight o'clock train for his RR work in Cincinnati. . . . I dreaded much to part with him.

Like his brothers, John did not marry until he was older—in his case, at the age of 34, to Lizzie Biggs, daughter of Mitchell physician and merchant J. T. Biggs, in September 1908. Incidentally, John's nuptials occurred on the same day that his brother Charles married Mabel Walls, their respective marriage licenses appearing side by side in the Lawrence County archives.¹⁷⁰

Regarding his sons as a group, McIntire referred to “the boys” more than 200 times in his diaries without specifying which sons he meant. In nearly every case the context was that “the boys” were engaged in some kind of farm work or manual labor. In contrast, McIntire's 26 diary references to “the girls” generally meant Ella and Lucy because Mary had already married and left home when their father began using that moniker regularly in his private record, beginning in 1888.¹⁷¹ In no case does it appear that his wife Margaret was included in that appellation. The context for the usage of “the girls” typically was that Ella and Lucy either entertained their friends at the McIntire home or the two were visiting at someone else's house.

Ella, McIntire's oldest daughter, appears 111 times in his diaries, more than either of her sisters. The first mention of her is in 1871 when she was too ill to be sent to school.¹⁷² McIntire bought 17-year-old Ella some shoes while he was in St. Louis with the mail service in 1876 but did not mention making such purchases for his other daughters.¹⁷³ Like her siblings she was known to help out at the *Commercial* printing office, but her presence there was not as frequent as that of Mary or Henry.¹⁷⁴

It is not known if any of McIntire's children earned wages or even pocket money while working in the office for their father, so Ella's first paying job could have been when she began teaching school at age 20 in the fall of 1878.¹⁷⁵ She had started studying at the “normal school” in July of that year and at the same time had applied to teach

school. She was not selected initially for a position and continued her teacher training until November when she did find a teaching job.¹⁷⁶ For the next several years it appears that Ella remained in the classroom, teaching terms that lasted six months, typically from September to March. During those terms she might have boarded with families near her schools, as Shoals and Huron were locations mentioned specifically by McIntire when he recorded that she occasionally came home for the weekend or when the family would send her things she needed.¹⁷⁷

McIntire's record indicates that Ella taught school as early as 1878 and as late as 1892. At one point during that period, from 1887 to 1888, McIntire wrote that she spent a year in Kansas.¹⁷⁸ He did not clarify what her activities were while she was away from home, but her sister Lucy spent at least part of the time with her there, and McIntire confided to his diary his frustration at the lack of news he received from the two of them: "We were a little troubled about not getting a letter from the girls this morning."¹⁷⁹ Other sources revealed that Ella was teaching second grade in Newton, Kansas.¹⁸⁰ In early July 1888, shortly before returning home to stay, Ella sent a letter to her father suggesting that he swap his farm in Indiana for some land in Kansas.¹⁸¹ He recorded her request without further comment in his diary and appeared to vote with his feet by remaining in Mitchell the remainder of his days.¹⁸²

In April 1895 Ella was wed to William Emery, and in a rare expression of tenderness, invalid McIntire penned these words the day she was married: "It is a sad trial to me, in my weak condition, to part with our first-born, but we hope for the best. I bore up real well."¹⁸³ Perhaps McIntire privately felt a stronger attachment to his eldest daughter, which might have prompted that lament in his diary.

Ella moved with her husband to Louisiana after her marriage, McIntire and his daughter traded letters, and she sent a barrel of peanuts and boxes of Kiefer pears to her family.¹⁸⁴ Ella returned for visits on occasion, and here is one example of how painful her departure was for her father: “A sad event of to-day was Ella's departure for her home in Louisiana.”¹⁸⁵ In 1898 Ella brought her 10-month-old daughter Margaret from Louisiana to see her grandparents.¹⁸⁶ Ella spent several weeks with her ailing father in Mitchell, had photos taken of her baby, and then returned home.¹⁸⁷ McIntire presciently reflected in his diary on this painful parting and his own invalid condition: “Ella left at noon for her home, Roseland, La., after a visit of nearly three months. It was a sad parting with me, as I cannot hope to see her and Baby Margaret again in this life.”¹⁸⁸ He was right.

Daughter Lucy appears by name 90 times in McIntire's diaries, identified by him intermittently as “Lucy” and “Lu.” As already noted, she and brother Charles had the dubious distinction of being the first of McIntire's children mentioned in their father's record for being sick with the mumps.¹⁸⁹ It was a tough year for Lucy, for she also came down with croup, which turned into diphtheria, and her parents were “doubtful about Lucy's recovery.”¹⁹⁰ She did survive, but she endured other unspecified illnesses in subsequent years.¹⁹¹

Lucy and Henry were the only two of McIntire's children who did not pursue teaching as a career, but it is not clear in McIntire's record what else her profession might have been. From her teens to her 30s it appears that she was busy in Mitchell, meeting her father with his lunch at the train station when he passed through during his Mail Service days, taking the grandchildren for buggy rides or accompanying them on the train to Cincinnati, attending picnics, basket meetings, encampments, excursions, and political rallies with her brothers, and sitting up with the sick.¹⁹²

In 1888 McIntire explained that Lou, the name she went by for the rest of her life, had just returned home from Kansas “after a residence in Newton for fifteen months,” but he did not specify what her activities were while there, besides spending some time with sister Ella, who was also in Newton teaching school.¹⁹³ Few blurbs about Lou appeared in the local Newton paper, but among them was this one: “Mrs. C. H. Webster, of Centralia, Ill., is the guest of Misses Ella and Lu [*sic*] McIntire of this city.”¹⁹⁴ This notice placed Ella and Lou together in Newton with Sara Webster, wife of Charles Hyde Webster, both of whom were family friends who visited the McIntires in Mitchell in 1888 and 1892.¹⁹⁵

Seven years later Lou left Mitchell for an extended period in Oregon. McIntire was not thrilled with her departure, as he wrote at the time: “Lucy left on the . . . train for Baker City This truly [is] an irreparable loss to her mother and me.” Perhaps adding to the emotion of the parting was the fact that Lou left on Christmas Eve.¹⁹⁶ The *Mitchell Commercial*, in documenting Lou’s late-year visit to her parents in 1898, reported that she was “deputy recorder” in Baker City “and ha[d] earned by close application to her work a much-needed vacation.”¹⁹⁷

There were a handful mentions of Lou in her father’s diary after her departure to Oregon, mainly that he received letters from her occasionally, as well as her 1898 visit to Mitchell, but McIntire left no indication how long Lou remained in Oregon. It is known, however, that she married in 1913 in Mitchell at the age of 46 to Charles Hyde Webster, the same family friend who visited the McIntires in Mitchell over the years, and the husband of Sara, the one who visited Ella and Lou in Kansas in 1888. Charles and Sara were married in 1886 in Lawrence County, Indiana.¹⁹⁸ Sara died in 1912, and Lou and Charles Webster were married the following year and moved to Mena, Arkansas.¹⁹⁹

Mary was identified 64 times in McIntire diaries, the fewest number of mentions of any of the children. Like John, she was not mentioned in her father's diaries until 1878, when she was 17. And like Henry, she was put to work in the *Commercial* printing office.²⁰⁰ Concurrent to her printing work that year Mary also pursued teaching as a profession. She went away to her school for weeks at a time and returned on the weekends.²⁰¹ Based on the number of references that appear in Elihu's diaries, riding horses and driving the buggy or wagon was not just the domain of the McIntire men; the three girls spent time in the saddle and could manage the buggy just as well as their brothers.²⁰²

McIntire's next diary references to Mary, in early 1884, explained that she "went back to her work in Cincinnati," so in the meantime she had obtained employment in that city.²⁰³ Mary appears to have followed a similar travel pattern to her teaching, spending a few weeks at her place of employment in Cincinnati and returning home for a weekend. McIntire was rarely open with his feelings in his diary, but from this entry the reader can infer that he did miss her: "Mary came home from Cincinnati last night. I remained up till midnight to be at the train."²⁰⁴

Compared to her siblings, Mary was not mentioned nearly as frequently in her father's diary. What may account for that comparatively low number of entries is that Mary was the first to marry and leave home for good, as she was wed to George McAvoy on her 24th birthday in September 1884.²⁰⁵ McIntire's 1884 diary ended in February, while Mary married in September of that year, so there is no mention of her nuptials. What McIntire did record about Mary in his diaries from 1888 forward consisted of noting her letters home, his wife Margaret's or his own visits to Mary in Cincinnati, Mary's visits to Mitchell with her children, McIntire's sending fruit and vegetables to

Mary in Cincinnati, the birth of Mary's son Trush in 1888, and the previously discussed death of Mary's daughter Lorena in 1896.²⁰⁶

As all of his children, save Mary, married in their 30s or later, McIntire came to know personally only four of his 14 grandchildren during his lifetime. His first granddaughter, Blanche, was born to Mary in September 1885.²⁰⁷ McIntire seemed to be a loving, attentive grandfather. He spent time with his grandchildren taking walks and corresponding with them, which included a letter Blanche wrote in 1896 to explain that her sister Lorena had scarlet fever, the illness that took Lorena's life two weeks later.²⁰⁸ A carbon copy of a typewritten letter that McIntire wrote to Blanche survives among his personal papers:

Mitchell, Indiana, August 26, 1898

Miss Blanche McAvoy:

My Dear Girl, I am getting very anxious to see you and your dear Brother, so I will try writing myself, thinking to induce your Papa to let you come before school begins. I am pritty [*sic*] well and want you to come while I am well enough to enjoy your visit.

Tell your uncle John that I want to see him very much, although I am glad to see him sticking close to business. Tell him to come as soon as he can.

I am getting very tired and cannot write much you answer with a long letter and let me know when we may look for you.

Your Affectionate Grand-Pa,

Elihu S. McIntire

By signing his letter "Your Affectionate Grand-pa," McIntire used words that did not appear anywhere in his diaries, which suggests that his grandchildren helped to bring out a rarely seen, tender side of him. As noted previously in this history, McIntire was puzzlingly placid in his diary description of granddaughter Lorena's passing: "Mary's daughter, Lorena, died this morning at 5:10."²⁰⁹ But more often than not when referring

to his grandchildren, McIntire was more prone to express some emotion, such as upon his grandchildren's arrival in or departure from Mitchell:

- June 7, 1891: Mary with their children left for home and the place appears lonesome.
- September 3, 1892: Mary and her children went home on the 8 o'clock train after a ten day's visit. It appears very lonesome after their romp and gabble.
- October 14, 1898: Ella left at noon for her home, Roseland, La., after a visit of nearly three months. It was a sad parting with me, as I cannot hope to see her and Baby Margaret again in this life.
- December 27, 1898: Our grandchildren, Blanche and Trush came on the noon train, a grateful occurrence to me.
- December 31, 1898: Our grandchildren left at 8 o'clock for their home. Their going makes me very lonesome.

McIntire may have felt "lonesome," but he was not alone at home once the grandchildren left. He had members of his immediate family there with him, but he must have had a more tender feelings reserved for his grandchildren than what he expressed in his diary for his wife Margaret or their children.

Even the local papers took notice of the McIntire grandchildren's visits to Mitchell. The *Bedford Democrat* reported that "Blanche and Trush McAvoy, of Cincinnati, will visit Dr. E. S. McIntire and family during vacation."²¹⁰ With a little more precision, the *Mitchell Commercial* listed the news on its front page that "Dr. E. S. McIntire and wife" were the recipients of the same visit from Blanche and Trush, but grandmother Margaret remained unmentioned in one paper and unnamed in the other.²¹¹ The *Democrat* and *Commercial* also announced the grandchildren's return home to Cincinnati, once in 1898 and again in 1899.²¹² Local journals also carried the news of Lorena's death in 1896. A Bedford paper offered the basic facts of her passing, but the

Commercial, besides identifying the cause and naming her parents and grandparents, offered that “the deceased was a child of unusual promise, of great ability and disposition and bore her severe illness with peculiar patience and fortitude, until she passed on.”²¹³

The attention the local papers lavished on the McIntire family during this period is another instance of how McIntire’s journalism had an effect on the “autumn” of his life. But this example has less of a connection to the editorial outlook of his paper and more to do with the relationships he cultivated while at the *Commercial*. As will be noted later in this dissertation, the local papers appeared to treat McIntire as an elder statesman by reporting his visits to their offices, commenting on the state of his health, and reflecting on how deeply he was missed around town when he was confined to his home.

As for his wife Margaret, McIntire mentioned her in his diaries a total of 85 times, fewer than each of his children except Mary. Not once did he call her by name, but McIntire referred to her alternately as “my wife,” “Mrs. Mc,” “Mrs. M,” and “Mrs. McIntire.”²¹⁴ However, the most common way he identified her—52 times—was simply as “Wife,” sans the definite article *the*, as in “Wife and I went to church,” “Wife is sick to-day,” or “Wife and Lu are making apple butter,” for example.²¹⁵ This abbreviated format appears to be common for the time because when McIntire referred to other men and their wives in his diary, he referred only to the husband by name, such as “Wm. A. Burton and wife,” “Ben Kelly and wife,” and “Jas. Chitty and wife.”²¹⁶

McIntire’s diary silences regarding his wife seemed to go beyond convention or simply a lack of mentions. Granted, in referring to his wife there were occasional expressions of emotion in McIntire’s private record, such as this series of entries surrounding Margaret’s extended trip to Cincinnati in early 1888 to help Mary after she gave birth to Trush. McIntire wrote:

- January 26, 1888: Mrs. Mc is getting ready to go to Cincinnati on the 3 o'clock train to-day, for two weeks visit to Mary, so we are all 'broken up.' She has never been so long from home. The forenoon was all bustle, getting my wife ready to go.
- January 28, 1888: I spent forenoon in the house reading and wrote two letters, one to Mrs. McIntire. It seems strange to be again writing letters to her.
- January 29, 1888: Am pritty [*sic*] lonesome. Got no letters to-day.
- January 31, 1888: Expecting a letter from my wife, got none, but got one this morning from George telling us of the birth of a boy, born to him and Mary, yesterday at 10:30.
- February 1, 1888: I went to town this morning to get mail, but got none, was much disappointed in not getting a letter from my wife.
- February 6, 1888: I went in town early to get mail, finding no letter from my wife I waited till noon mail was in. Got a letter and some papers.
- February 8, 1888: We expected Mrs. McIntire to come home to-day, but instead we got a letter saying [she] was not doing well and that she would stay the rest of the week.
- February 11, 1888: Got a letter from my wife this morning, she is coming home to-morrow.
- February 12, 1888: Mrs. McIntire came home at noon. Henry going to town for her . . . My wife brought our granddaughter Blanche with her, we will keep her till her mother gets well enough to take care of her.

Diary expressions such as being "broken up," "am pritty [*sic*] lonesome," and "was much disappointed in not getting a letter from my wife" might be expected when one's wife was away for several days.

As described in his February 6 entry, McIntire even went early to the post office one morning, hoping to find a letter. Upon finding none he waited until another sack of mail came on the noon train and his persistence was rewarded. But as much as McIntire may have missed his wife while she was away, upon Margaret's return on February 12,

he stated flatly, “Mrs. McIntire came home at noon.” That last expression is more typical of McIntire in his diary entries when referring to Margaret, perhaps reverting to the reporter in him to simply state the facts, which illustrates another way in which his journalism might have affected his later years. Some instances of this inclination include these: “My wife and I went walking in the evening,” “My wife and I took dinner at Mrs. Winby’s,” “My wife and I went to Dr. Morris’s to see our beehive,” “Mrs. Mc. went to Cin[cin]nati,” and “Wife and I went to Tolbert’s Graveyard to ‘Decoration [Day],’” now known as Memorial Day.²¹⁷

Those few times when McIntire recorded that Margaret was injured or sick, he attended to and worried over her. Here are two examples:

February 9, 1891: Mrs. M. got hurt by a cow working her over this morning and is right badly off. I went to town at nine and came back at one and remained at home all the remainder of the day, waiting on my wife.

December 18, 1898: Wife became quite sick in the evening. We are alarmed about her.

December 19, 1898: We had an uneasy night on account of the sickness of Mrs. M, the boys were up most of the night. To-day she is much improved. Dr. Walls was out to see her.

While McIntire did express concern about Margaret in both these instances, he wrote nothing further in his diary about her condition or recovery.

Up until McIntire’s invalid years, when by default Margaret would become his primary caregiver, the two of them often went places together, as just noted, but when his health prevented McIntire from leaving, Margaret continued to pursue her own interests and did not appear to be tied to the house. For example, McIntire recorded that Margaret went with “the boys” to a Fourth of July celebration, she went to “the caves” with McIntire’s sister Eleanor, accompanied Henry to a concert given by university students,

took an excursion train to Cincinnati with Henry to visit Mary more than once, visited neighbors and friends and attended funerals, and soldier reunions while her husband remained at home.²¹⁸

Sometimes McIntire's health did affect Margaret's ability to be away, as he recorded in his diary on December 24, 1892: "Wife went this morning on the eight o'clock train to Cincinnati to visit Mary for ten days, if I remain in good enough health to allow her to be away." McIntire made no mention of her in his diary the following day on Christmas, and a few days later he reported that she "came home unexpectedly having come out on a night train and stayed in town till morning."²¹⁹ McIntire did not offer a subsequent explanation in his diary if Margaret's early return was due to his importunings or for some other reason.

It is difficult to determine from his private record the depth of McIntire's feelings for Margaret because he typically left those emotions unexpressed. It is probable that he did have strong feelings of love for her, as hinted at in his recorded sentiments of loneliness when she was away, but for reasons known only to him, they were not articulated in his diary. These silences regarding Margaret—and to a lesser extent, Mary—might be consistent with Welter's "Cult of True Womanhood" that elevated the status of women above men due to their piety and purity, which perhaps McIntire chose not to sully by making them into ordinary beings in his diary.

It was also a cultural marker of the time, that men did not express emotion to, about, or in front of others, but a private diary could offer a safe place for confiding such feelings.²²⁰ In McIntire's case either he could not—or chose not to—express them there. The enigma of this pattern is that in a public medium McIntire had no reservations about lauding women in general or in expressing strong emotion in his "pungent paragraphs

and caustic editorials” as editor of the *Commercial*, but that ability seemed to escape him in his diaries, as evidenced by the emotional silences regarding his wife and—to a lesser extent—his children.

Summarizing McIntire’s relationship with his children, grandchildren, and wife Margaret, it is clear by the sheer number of references to them—997 mentions of family members out of 3,007 entries, or 33 percent overall—that his family members were important to him. Noting in his diary their comings and goings, their accomplishments, and their struggles, even while he himself endured significant health and employment challenges, suggests the pride McIntire took in his family and that they occupied a vital place in his life. That place would become even more significant to him in his final years as his health became more and more precarious, and we now devote the remainder of this chapter to how those years unfolded.

Invalid Years

Conveniently, McIntire himself pinpoints the beginnings of the invalid period of his life. He wrote on December 29, 1895: “It’s three years to-day since I last walked alone,” and three years hence he recalled that “six years ago to-day I walked alone the last time.”²²¹ On the day in question, however, McIntire gave no indication of its significance:

December 29, 1892: I went in town at ten, and remained till the western mail was in. Did no pension work.

But the following days’ diary entries began to paint a foreboding picture:

December 30, 1892: I was all day by the fire, not venturing away from the house on account of suffering with nervous pain in my right thigh and left foot.

December 31, 1892: I end the year in a bad condition of health, and no prospect of improvement, am becoming parylitic [*sic*].

At the time, the 60-year-old McIntire might have hoped that the pain and weakness in his legs would not be permanent, but his use of the term “parylitic” indicates that he was not anticipating better prospects. In fact, other diary descriptions of his overall health prior to December 1892 corroborated his pessimistic outlook as he described his state alternately as “much indisposed,” “precarious,” “bad,” “very poor,” and “feeble.”²²² No diaries of McIntire for 1893 or 1894 have survived to the present day, but two items in the *Bedford Daily Mail* from January 1893 confirmed the trajectory of McIntire’s condition: “Dr. E. S. McIntire is in poor health at present,” and he “is reported to be suffering from ill health.”²²³ This 1892 demarcation, though not arbitrary, also does not suggest that McIntire experienced a sudden onset of paralysis and associated health problems at that time.

As noted previously, McIntire had experienced bouts of bowel trouble dating back to his Civil War days, which he also referred to in his record as an “intestinal hemorrhage” and “profuse hemorrhage of my bowels,” but that was only one of the corporeal crosses he bore.²²⁴ McIntire’s diaries, beginning in 1871, offered a litany of ailments he suffered such as hoarseness, rheumatism, neuralgia, heart trouble, shingles, and lightning pain—his most common complaint—in his legs, feet, elbows, wrists, hands, hips, and chest.²²⁵ McIntire also mentioned suffering from chiggers, a mite common to the Midwest, which in the larval stage can bite into human skin and cause severe itching. McIntire used the word “torment” each time when describing in his diary his experience with chiggers.²²⁶ Adding to his aches and pains as he moved toward confinement was McIntire’s declining energy level. He noted several times in 1891, during his pension-

agent years, that he usually went to the office in the morning but came home to bed in the afternoon.²²⁷ It even became a noteworthy event when McIntire was “up all day.” He recorded that phrase in his diary 125 times between March 21, 1892, and his last diary entry on February 25, 1899, out of a total of 1,408 entries during that span. The rule, therefore, was that he was confined to his bed—or “kept my bed,” as he put it 41 times—for at least part of the day, or as he put it 21 times, “was all day in bed.”²²⁸

Some of McIntire’s maladies directly affected his ability to compile his daily record. A cluster of comments from his 1888 diary perhaps foreshadowed this difficulty: “I sowed red top seed on the oats using my left hand on account of my right being disabled,” “Am still much disabled in my hands,” and “I worked too much [on the farm] and am suffering with my lame wrists. Can’t do anything.”²²⁹ At that or any other time McIntire offered no explanation for the original disability of his writing hand, but the demands of daily farm work might not have permitted him to rest it long enough to heal. He soldiered on, not mentioning this particular trouble until three and a half years later: “My right arm has given out again and I have to use my left hand in writing.”²³⁰

Again, McIntire’s silence in the matter does not spell out what might have happened in the interim to give him a useless limb, and the inclusion of “again” in his description refers to a previous incident that is not recorded. However, what is clearly visible in his diary entries beginning with that very day—June 17, 1891—was a new, cautious cursive that replaced the breezy and boldfaced script that had been his for 20 years of diary writing. Over the next few entries it appears that McIntire alternated between using his left and right hands to write and then resigned himself to his disability, reverting only once in early 1892: “I began writing this page with my right hand but had

to give it up.”²³¹ McIntire’s family was probably aware of this sinister sign, both in the left-handed and ominous senses. In his final years McIntire had little or no use of his right arm; it often shook badly and rendered him “helpless.”²³²

How McIntire Coped with His Confinement

McIntire's deteriorating condition by 1892 effectively signaled the end of his Indian-summer stretches as he moved full-on into the frosty fall of his life. He was often hurting, as evidenced by his mentioning the word *pain* in his diaries 79 times between May 17, 1891, and November 28, 1898. During the same period he used some variant of *suffer* (“suffer,” “suffered,” “suffering”) in his diary 230 times. He even dubbed himself a “great sufferer” and an “old invalid.”²³³ Given the inescapable discomfort he experienced, McIntire had to find ways to cope with the pain and lack of mobility that were his. He appeared to do this through a number of rituals that occupied both his time and his mind.

Certainly the most visible of these was keeping up his diary, given the faithfulness with which he maintained his record. The last five years of his life accounted for more than a third—1,126—of his 3,007 total diary entries. During this period his health was his most frequent topic, being mentioned in 64 percent of his entries, followed by the weather (54 percent), family (42 percent), visitors (28 percent), and the farm (20 percent). His willingness to learn to write in his diary with his left hand when his right hand became disabled is testament to the importance McIntire placed on recording each day’s events. He only mentioned the word *diary* six times in his record, and a variant of this lament, “I have been unable to keep my diary written up,” was used on four occasions, in each case due to health reasons.²³⁴ In other instances he reported how his daily ritual was

interrupted because he was “too shaky,” “too badly off,” or “too poorly” to write.²³⁵

Possible causes for McIntire’s chronic bowel trouble have already been considered here, but the source of his shakiness, which he mentioned 26 times in his diaries, might have been Parkinson’s disease. Symptoms include tremors in the hands and fingers, slowed movement, difficulty getting in and out of chairs, stiffness, and difficulty with writing, all of which McIntire experienced, as recorded in his private record.²³⁶

Of the diary topics just mentioned—health, weather, family, visitors, and the farm—only visitors has yet to be treated in these pages. Guests in his home—invited or otherwise—served as another frequent ritual for McIntire in his declining years. The stream of visitors he received was one of the few things he seemed to look forward to, and the lack of company was difficult for him. Of the 21 instances that McIntire mentioned in his diary that he had “no company” that day, the word *lonesome* was coupled with it 19 times, as in “I had no company and was very lonesome.”²³⁷ That expression should not be construed to mean that McIntire was alone at home during the day. According to his diary, his wife Margaret was generally there except when she left to visit their daughter Mary in Cincinnati, and so were sons Henry and Charles when their work did not take them away for extended periods.

Prior to his confinement, McIntire averaged 31 mentions of visitors for each of the years he kept a diary, but that figure more than doubled to 65 per year from 1895 to 1899. Most of McIntire’s visitors were male, and many of them were prominent members of the community—physicians, dentists, attorneys, merchants, or clergy. The women who visited were often accompanied by their husbands, or they appeared to be friends of Margaret or of his daughters Ella or Lou. The female visitor noted most often by McIntire was Sadie Miller, daughter of George Miller, who was identified 22 times as being a

guest in the McIntire home. She was a friend of Ella's and was the only nonfamily member—besides the Reverend Van Dyne and his wife—who was invited to Ella's wedding at the McIntire home in 1895.²³⁸ The most frequent male visitor was William Darkes, who visited 40 times between 1895 and 1899.²³⁹ Sometimes McIntire referred to him as “Billy” in his diary, but it is not known what his connection was to McIntire or to the family.

Many of those who visited McIntire at his home were members of the 32 Club, which he referred to occasionally in his diary. The club was organized in 1882 by McIntire and his friends who were turning 50 that year, having all been born in 1832.²⁴⁰ Its members included W. V. T. Murphy, Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Humston, Dr. and Mrs. W. A. Burton, B. S. Kelly. Margaret, who was also born in 1832, was an unofficial member. The group met on or near the birthday of each of its members, shared a meal, sang songs, told stories, and enjoyed one another's company, and the local papers often reported the event to their readers.²⁴¹

For years McIntire attended these gatherings as his health permitted, and he felt great anticipation for the events, especially when his turn came to be celebrated. He commented about the 32 Club in his diary entries on the last two birthdays of his life: in 1898, the rainy weather kept the group from convening at McIntire's home, but several members came the next day to celebrate, “being one of the memorable days of my life.”²⁴² The following year it was “la grippe” and “bad weather” that kept everyone away, but there was no makeup party that time.²⁴³ McIntire's invalid condition prevented him from attending other members' celebrations, but Margaret did go to the parties and enjoyed herself.²⁴⁴

With McIntire's keen interest in community events and politics, he tried to keep up during his homebound years not only through the news that his visitors would bring, but also by keeping in touch through the written word—his own and that of others. McIntire wrote that “I try to write a letter every day,” and in 1892 McIntire purchased a Franklin typewriter for 60 dollars, which equates to \$1,596.36 today.²⁴⁵ He may have been so excited by the new device that he wore it out, enlisting a “Remington agent” to repair it within six weeks of acquiring it.²⁴⁶ Once repaired, the typewriter could have helped alleviate the shakiness in his writing hand. It also might have allowed him to prepare items for the newspaper, which he contributed occasionally to the *Commercial*, and to communicate with relatives.²⁴⁷ As noted, he sent typewritten letters to his grandchildren, but he also sent at least one to his son-in-law, William Emery—all facts that he recorded in his diary.²⁴⁸

A voracious reader, McIntire kept up with his times by reading regularly the *Indianapolis Journal*, *Cincinnati Post*, and the *Country-Gentleman*, in addition to the local papers. He faithfully recorded what he paid in subscriptions: a penny for the occasional copy of the *Post*, one dollar for the *Rockport Journal*, \$1.50 for the *Commercial*, \$1.95 for the *Country-Gentleman*, and 10 dollars for the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*.²⁴⁹

His publication of choice was the *Globe-Democrat*, which he had subscribed to since 1875 during his *Commercial* days, for which he paid 10 dollars per year.²⁵⁰ In 1876, McIntire ran an ad for the *Globe-Democrat* in the *Commercial*, which extolled the virtues of its St. Louis counterpart, which

furnish[es] to the people of the West a great representative journal . . . based entirely upon a proper comprehension of what the people want—a paper containing the news of the world: domestic, foreign and local, together with a

clear and candid expression of opinion upon all the great questions which, from time to time, claim the attention of intelligent people.²⁵¹

Given that McIntire subscribed to the *Globe-Democrat* for the rest of his life, he was most likely happy with its content and quite willing to part with the annual subscription that was more than six times the cost of his own paper.

The *Globe-Democrat* was sent to Mitchell on the eastbound O & M train, which he picked up himself in his mobile days and sent a son to retrieve when he was confined to the house.²⁵² Sometimes there was no paper to pick up at the station, and McIntire would record in his journal, “Failed to get the *Globe-Democrat*,” which for him seemed more than a simple disappointment, as he sometimes added, “and I am lost for news.”²⁵³ It is likely that much of the national and regional news items that McIntire recorded in his journal—and that which he printed in the *Commercial* after 1875—came from the *Globe-Democrat*. On one occasion Charles was sent to town to pick up a load of coal and the *Globe-Democrat*. Both items were purchased, but only the coal reached the house, making for a warm but “lonesome evening” for his father.²⁵⁴

When McIntire was not confined to his bed during his infirmity, he was confined to his wheelchair. He wrote of “lying down in my reclining chair most of the afternoon” during one of his office-in-the-morning, resting-at-home-after-lunch days in 1891. The chair in question might have been the 19th-century version of a 21st-century recliner, but when he referred to “my chair” in 1895, that seat had wheels on it.²⁵⁵ By that point, in one sense it was a great day for McIntire when he was “up in my chair all day” because it meant that he was out of his bed. In contrast, McIntire also had days when he was “very tired” or “so tired” of his chair that he went to bed early.²⁵⁶

In June 1895 Henry wheeled his father outside for the “first time in over seven months.”²⁵⁷ That summer McIntire appeared to be mobile and strong enough that he could spend time out in the yard under a tree or inside an open tent erected near the house.²⁵⁸ As his strength dwindled, McIntire went outside only as far as the porch, built in 1896, where he spent many of his days during the summer of 1897 and a few days in the spring of 1898, observing workers building a road not far from the house and even sunning his legs.²⁵⁹

Keeping up with the house and farm was another way McIntire kept his mind occupied and sharp. For example, in his diary he offered details of an addition to his home, which included a new front door, and casings around the windows; a renovation of his room with new carpet, mantle and grate; new wallpaper in the kitchen; a barn-raising that progressed “provokingly slow;” the planting and harvesting of crops; and the arrival of new animals to the farm, either by birth or by purchase.²⁶⁰ One development on the farm that escaped his diary but made it into the *Commercial* was this notice: “We are proud of the improvement in a new wind mill at the home of Dr. McIntire.”²⁶¹ One reason that the device was not recorded in McIntire’s diary might be that his health had taken a critical turn and occupied all his thoughts and energies. “I was badly off that I had Doctors Walls and Kelly to see me, was nearly dead. Had to be hefted up and down,” he wrote.²⁶²

Other things provided purpose or distraction for McIntire in his infirmity. In 1895 he “applied for membership in the Horse Thief Detective Association.”²⁶³ Clearly, he was in no condition to chase after rustlers, but with the one dollar in dues that he paid in 1895, McIntire could offer financial and moral support to the purposes of the organization, which were explained in an 1899 edition of the *Mitchell Commercial*:

The order is a very useful one that was started in times when horse stealing was so prevalent in Indiana and the summary measures taken by this association contributed largely to its complete over-throw. The old name clings but the detection and punishment of crimes and criminals of all kinds constitutes their task. That they do their duty in the court records will show and here in Lawrence County they have broken up more than one lawless gang and sent the ring-leaders to prison.²⁶⁴

McIntire does not mention the association again in the pages of his diary, but he did contribute another 25 cents to the cause three years later.²⁶⁵

One activity that was essentially symbolic and certainly added to McIntire's sense of usefulness was to maintain current his medical license during his invalid years, as he wrote in 1897: "I made application for license to practice medicine, under a new law, I want to die in the harness."²⁶⁶ A few months later the *Commercial* confirmed this move by announcing that McIntire's license to practice had in fact been renewed.²⁶⁷ Recall that he made what appeared to be one last house call in 1898 to see his former partner in practice, Dr. George W. Burton. In his last years the scales tipped toward McIntire's being on the receiving end of house calls, as many of his visitors were physicians, such as Dr. Kelly, Dr. Bennett, and Dr. Walls, who called on him not only socially but also professionally.²⁶⁸

McIntire's physical condition was dire, almost from the time in late 1892 when he walked unassisted for the last time. His pains were plenteous, and there were days when he thought his time had come. He recorded on his last birthday, January 9, 1899: "Late in this evening I had heart failure so I thought my life would end on my birth-day but I soon revived." Some weeks later he reported that "I had a night of horrors, thought I would die," but again he bounced back.²⁶⁹ This seemed to be his pattern, with long stretches of suffering punctuated by infrequent periods when he wrote that he was "feeling better than common," meaning that he felt better than usual.²⁷⁰ On such rare occasions he also noted

that he was able to join the family in the dining room for his meals rather than to have them brought to his room.²⁷¹

There were times, however, when the combination of visitors, reading material, and family support were not sufficient to keep McIntire going. In large measure he followed a ritual of turning to drugs and medications for relief. His analgesic of choice was anodyne, a generic term for pain reliever, which he mentioned 17 times in his diary and which he took for the “lightning pain” he often experienced.²⁷² His comment in late 1898 that he “went nine hours to-day without an anodyne” suggests that the drug was a part of his daily life. Morphine, a narcotic derived from opium, was a close second to anodyne in McIntire’s medicine cabinet, identified 13 times in his record.²⁷³ He mentioned taking morphine on two occasions prior to his invalid period for colic and for sleeplessness, but he used it regularly in his last years, taking two-and-a-half grains per day.²⁷⁴

Other drugs that helped alleviate his suffering included the over-the-counter remedy anti-kamnia, an analgesic for headaches, muscle pain, and fever, for which he paid 5 to 10 cents per bottle; quinine for his rheumatism, but the side effects caused him nervousness; hyoscine hydrobromide, for his shaky right hand; and exalgine, another analgesic.²⁷⁵ As a physician, McIntire would have had easy access to whatever medicines he felt he needed, and as for the effects of these drugs on him, they generally provided relief, but it is difficult to say if their long-term use did not also produce negative side effects or even addiction. McIntire’s financial records in 1895 and 1896, for example, indicated that he paid between 4 and 20 dollars every three months (the same months in which he received his quarterly pension check) for what he listed as “drugs” in his ledger.²⁷⁶

His well-documented pain, expense, and dependence on these substances, when taken together, might explain what seemed to be a lack of emotion at the death of his granddaughter Lorena or his sometimes-cavalier attitude toward his wife Margaret, as evidenced by the emotional silences in his diary toward both. It is also possible that McIntire might have been so consumed with his own suffering that the drugs he took for relief dulled his emotional awareness of how hard his wife and children worked to take care of him, but without an explanation from McIntire's record, we are left to surmise what might have accounted for that emotional distance.

How His Circumstances Changed Him

The most obvious change in McIntire during his confinement years was that he was homebound. His "paralysis," as he referred to it, prevented him from leaving the house except in rare circumstances.²⁷⁷ According to his record, from August 1895 to his death in May 1899, McIntire left the farm only 11 times. Three of those trips were to fill out his pension voucher.²⁷⁸ When that task became too difficult, McIntire had Elmer Jones come to his house to prepare his pension paperwork, and his financial register, with entries that say "making voucher," imply that he paid 15 cents each time for that service.²⁷⁹ Due to his physical limitations, McIntire also had to arrange for his barber and tailor to come to him, and friends often brought his mail from town.²⁸⁰ McIntire also paid a woman to come and do the washing and cleaning, presumably because his wife Margaret was occupied in taking care of him, and the domestic chores were often left to a Mrs. Parrott, as noted in his diary, with 50 cents being the going rate he paid her for that service.²⁸¹

Other trips to Mitchell during this period included seeing soldiers off as they left to attend the national Grand Army of the Republic encampment in Louisville, Kentucky; celebrating two separate Decoration Days; attending a 32 Club meeting at W. J. Humston's; voting on two occasions; seeing his dying friend G. W. Burton; and "going to town" for an undisclosed reason.²⁸² About half of these forays had minimal effect on McIntire: "I was not in the least hurt by the trip," "Stood the trip better than any one before," "I stood the ride very well," and "I was not hurt much by the trip."²⁸³ But others nearly undid him, as he recorded in his diary: "[I] came back, much worsted by the trip," "I was badly worn out, vomited severely on getting home, went to bed at once," and "The trip wore me out badly. I had to go to bed on my return."²⁸⁴ As McIntire's trips to town were so infrequent, some of them made the papers, and the *Bedford Daily Mail* and the *Mitchell Commercial* offered encouraging words:

Dr. E. S. McIntire, who has not been in town since the November election came down this morning and shook hands with his many friends. The Dr. has been a sufferer from paralysis for several years, but looks reasonably well for one afflicted so long. We hope he may yet regain his usual health.²⁸⁵

Dr. E. S. McIntire was able to come up town Saturday and in his drive along Main Street he held a series of receptions. All were glad to see the genial doctor and trust he will gain more health and strength so that he can be with us as in times past.²⁸⁶

These items in the local weeklies suggest that their concern might have been due at least in part to McIntire's efforts to maintain his connection to them as both subscriber and contributor.

In addition to the toll that McIntire's years of invalidity took on his body, his spirit might have been tempered in different ways. He certainly ran the gamut of emotions that someone in his condition might experience, and he seemed willing to exhibit slightly more feeling in his diary during his later years when some expression of

emotion graced 7 percent of his diary entries, an increase of but 2 percent over his earlier record. Some of his jottings during his confinement painted a pitiful picture:

- February 3, 1895: I am not so well as common; I suffer much and my diarrhea is worse. Was most of the day in bed. Had no company.
- April 9, 1895: This was a disagreeable day, dark and bleak. I suffered excruciatingly.
- May 15, 1895: Was suffering horridly with vertigo [*sic*], induced by heart failure.
- October 18, 1895: I hardly ever had a worse day of suffering. Anodynes and alcoholics were ineffectual in relieving me. My suffering seems to continue every day.
- March 31, 1897: For nearly a year I have been unable to keep my diary written up, and am unable to do but little. The last two weeks I has suffered badly from diarrhea and hemorrhoids, nearly killing me.
- May 1, 1897: I was suffering badly with lightning pain in the cardiac region, had to take more morphine than usual.
- November 13, 1898: I suffer dreadfully.

In contrast, there were days when McIntire was downright upbeat and showed remarkable pluck for one so afflicted:

- March 15, 1895: I was pritty [*sic*] well, got up at seven and remained out [of] bed all day, suffered but little.
- December 31, 1895: So I get out of 1895 and into 1896, surprised at my tenacity for life, as did not even hope for my life being spared to see 1896.
- July 31, 1897: The day was quite hot. I was suffering less than yesterday. Was up all day, 13 hours. Sat out on the porch a good part of the day.
- January 17, 1898: I got up at seven and was feeling extremely well, being free from pain or suffering. The day was one of the finest winter days imaginable, pleasant enough for May.
- January 20, 1898: I am feeling really well for such weather, rested well last night and am not suffering any to-day.

November 1, 1898: I go into November as well as I was a year ago, though I never expect to live through a season, my prospects are as good as any time in the last six years.

January 1, 1899: We are thankful for such a measure of health as we enjoy, I am suffering less than usual and am in as fair a way of living as I was at the beginning of 1898.

These last diary entries suggest that despite McIntire's intense suffering he had the ability to compartmentalize and appreciate the small things in his difficult circumstances.

In connection with his emotional and spiritual state during his invalid years, a review of McIntire's diaries reveals that his topic selection for entries changed when compared to his pre-1895 period. McIntire mentioned the weather only 54 percent of the time in his later years, down from 72 percent. He wrote more about his health (64 percent to 16 percent) and his family (42 to 28 percent). Curiously, McIntire referenced religion/church 68 times in his diary before his onset of paralysis and only twice afterward. This is not to say that McIntire lost his religion after he became ill; the more fitting question is whether or not he ever actually found it in the first place.

A closer look reveals that in most instances when McIntire mentioned church or religion in his earlier record, it was in reference to activities happening at church—a lecture, a supper, a Sunday School picnic, a festival, or funeral—which his wife or children attended, or it was newsworthy enough to include in his diary.²⁸⁷ McIntire wrote about going to worship services twice in 1871, once to Sunday School, and he even promised in his diary, “Am going to attend more faithfully.”²⁸⁸ Ironically, many of his church-related diary references that year were to indicate that he “did not go to church.”²⁸⁹

His work schedule in 1871 and 1876 took him away from Mitchell for days at a time, and those absences might have affected his church attendance. In 1878 he was

midway through his newspaper years, and as noted previously he often used Sundays to look over his exchanges to find material to put into his paper in lieu of going to church.²⁹⁰ Those circumstances might have contributed to McIntire's getting out of the habit of going to services, and in his postnewspaper years his precarious health could have kept him home all day on Sundays to rest up for the week. In all of McIntire's diaries there was not a single reference to God, Jesus Christ, or anything that could be construed as an expression of faith—even during his most painful periods toward the end of his life when he might have felt most vulnerable and in need of divine help. McIntire's obituary listed him as a longtime member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and his minister, Reverend Van Duyne, visited him regularly, but how McIntire saw himself in relation to his Maker is not known because he never offered such sentiments in his diary.²⁹¹

It is probable that McIntire's late-life trials turned his heart toward his family and made him more appreciative of the beauty around him, subject to the influence of the painkilling substances that he took regularly. As already discussed, he seemed slightly more prone to tender expressions of emotion when it came to his wife, children, and grandchildren, and he did mention them more frequently in his diary toward the end, with 42 percent of his entries referencing family when compared to 28 percent in his earlier years. He also waxed more descriptive when it came to the natural beauty he observed from his porch or through the window, as in these examples: "In the evening the clouds broke up and we had a most magnificent rainbow display," "The day was real autumn-like, but the forests are as green as summer," and "The day was like May, the birds were out in force and their songs were heard in every tree. It is such a day as to make an old invalid like myself feel glad to be alive."²⁹²

Even as his infirmity wrought changes in him, there were certainly things that did not vary for McIntire in his declining years. These included his interest in politics and local events, his love for his family, and his loyalty to his friends and fellow soldiers. His attending 32 Club gatherings, visiting a dying friend personally, and taking part in Decoration Day ceremonies, even though these trips often meant more suffering upon his return home, suggest that the emotional belonging these events brought was more important to him than the physical toll they would take on his body.

McIntire also maintained a keen interest in the reunions of his regiment, none of which he could ever attend personally for health reasons. In 1888 when he was in better health, McIntire attended the national Grand Army of the Republic encampment in Columbus, Ohio. While there he met some members of his regiment—Shoot, Boyle, and W. H. Githens, the physician who replaced McIntire after he was discharged.²⁹³ McIntire even saved in his diary an undated clipping from the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* that summarized the regimental reunion held in Moberly, Missouri, in October 1897. He also recorded these related reflections:

- October 10, 1895: To-day our Regiment holds a Reunion at Plymouth, Hancock Co., Illinois. I much regret that I am unable to attend.
- October 12, 1897: Our Regiment holds a Reunion to-day at Moberly, Mo.
- October 22, 1898: I wrote a letter of regrets at not being able to attend the Reunion of our Regiment, 78th Illinois, at Camp Point, on the 26th.
- October 26, 1898: To-day is held the 13th Annual Reunion of our Regiment, 78th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, at Camp Point, Adams County, Ills. I have never been able to attend a meeting on account of bad health, I was discharged on the 25th of March 1863, and have not seen but few of my comrades since.

James M. Barrie, author of *Peter Pan*, wrote that “God gave us memories, that we might have June roses in the December of our lives.”²⁹⁴ The memories of his military service apparently gave McIntire a few June roses in the late-December autumn of his life. He recalled the following in his diary: “Thirty-five years to-day I was discharged from the army, at Franklin, Tenn.,” and “I put the day to good use in going [over] my army letters of ’62 and ’63.”²⁹⁵ These recollections and his appreciation of the small things must have made McIntire’s existence somewhat bearable, but the end, bringing relief for all concerned, ultimately came.

“Peace to His Memory”

As an old newspaperman of prominence in Lawrence County, the local papers would naturally be interested in reporting McIntire’s declining health. Occasional mentions of McIntire found their way into the pages of the Mitchell and Bedford papers as his illness ebbed and flowed. In late 1897 the *Mitchell Commercial* acknowledged both the effect of McIntire’s disability and the tenacity of McIntire and his family as they plodded along, likely knowing where their path would ultimately lead them:

We were out to see Dr. McIntire yesterday and found him much improved. The action of his heart is stronger and more regular than it has been for a long time. Notwithstanding his weakened physical condition the Doctor's mind is keen and active and he has lost none of his interest in what is doing around town. . . . We hope the good doctor will be spared us for a long time as he is but 66 and ordinarily should round out many years of usefulness and doubtless would if it had not been for the terrible privation, work and care incumbent upon him in the late war as assistant surgeon of the 78th Indiana Vol. Infy. There are thousands of old veterans like him that lost their health and vigor during the war that now are but shattered ghostly wrecks of what they might have been.²⁹⁶

Six months later, the *Commercial* provided an update for its readers on the former editor of the paper:

When considering great power of endurance and patience through suffering and a determination to keep abreast with the times, although an invalid and shut away as it were from the busy world, Dr. McIntire beats the record.²⁹⁷

A years-long illness such as McIntire's would have tested anyone's mettle, both sufferer and caregiver alike. It must have been gratifying for him to read the *Commercial's* acknowledgement of his difficulties, as well as its recognition of his ability to still contribute to his community, stay current on events, and to endure such reverses. And given that his mind was yet "keen and active," the desire to do more than his body allowed him to do might have been quite difficult for McIntire to accept about his circumstances.

In his last visit to town in November 1898, McIntire cast his vote in the election.²⁹⁸ Being an off year, there were no national candidates on the ballot. Republican William McKinley was finishing his second year as a first-term president, and Governor James A. Mount, also a Republican, was halfway through his first term. So the 1898 vote was to determine who would represent the citizens of Mitchell in Congress and in local jurisdictions. It is possible that McIntire crossed party lines to vote for Congressman Robert W. Miers, the Democratic incumbent just finishing his first term. Miers was somehow acquainted with McIntire, as reported by the *Commercial* in 1897:

"Congressman Miers was inquiring about his old friend Dr. McIntire" during a visit to Mitchell.²⁹⁹ The doctor himself recorded a visit from Miers in his diary two years earlier: "Mr. Myers [*sic*] and family were visiting us during the day."³⁰⁰ McIntire did maintain close ties with a number of local Democrats, Drs. J. T. Biggs and J. L. W. Yost, and Lewis Murray, about whom McIntire quipped in the *Commercial* in 1882 that Murray's Democratic affiliation was "the only bad thing about him."³⁰¹ In the same diary entry where McIntire told of going to vote, he added that "the trip wore me out badly," but his

commitment to do his civic duty seemed to outweigh the physical price he would pay for doing so.³⁰²

As early as 1893 the papers in Lawrence County reported McIntire's physical woes. "Dr. E. S. McIntire is in poor health at present," wrote the *Bedford Daily Mail*.³⁰³ From 1897 the *Mitchell Commercial* and the *Bedford Democrat* offered running commentary on McIntire's health condition and other bits of news about the family. In March 1897 it was reported that "Mrs. Dr. McIntire is on the sick list this week."³⁰⁴ No mention of Margaret's condition at that time is found in McIntire's diary, probably because he was having his own health battles. Two weeks later McIntire resumed his private record after a six-month hiatus and explained that "for nearly a year I have been unable to keep my diary written up" due to illness.³⁰⁵

In May 1897 the *Commercial* ran a piece that looked back on the evolution of the *Commercial* since its inception 30 years earlier and commented on an edition from 1873 that "with Dr. E. S. McIntire there seem[ed] to be a great improvement both editorially and typographically" in the paper.³⁰⁶ And as noted previously, in the same month the *Commercial* complimented McIntire for the new windmill on the family farm.³⁰⁷

In 1898 the *Commercial* and *Democrat* chronicled McIntire's meetings with the 32 Club, his trips to town, and visits from Ella, Mary, her children Blanche and Trush, and family friend America Noe.³⁰⁸ The *Commercial* also highlighted McIntire's "patience" and "determination" and wished him "more health and strength."³⁰⁹ In August it reported that "Dr. E. S. McIntire is very sick," which is corroborated by his diary's silence with no entries between August 1 and September 2, 1898. Three days later McIntire explained that "I have not been able to keep my diary up. Am too shaky to write."³¹⁰

McIntire's own record in the weeks that followed described problems with his eyes, vertigo, and a brief period of respite in late September where his bowel trouble was "better than for years."³¹¹ A Mr. Eastman came to stay at the house and brought his gramophone. A storm kept McIntire's guest there for two nights, and it is likely the family enjoyed the twist of fate and the music that came with Eastman's device.³¹²

The remainder of McIntire's record for 1898 traced the ups and downs with this health, his visitors, births of farm animals and the "provokingly slow" construction of his barn.³¹³ In the last half of 1898 McIntire mentioned his wife sparingly—attending a funeral, visiting a sick friend, and taking part in a 32 Club gathering.³¹⁴ In late December, McIntire wrote that "we are alarmed" about his wife, "who became quite sick."³¹⁵ The "we" in this case was presumably still-living-at-home children Henry, Charles, and Lou, as well as McIntire himself. The following day McIntire wrote that "we had an uneasy night on account of the sickness of Mrs. M., the boys were up most of the night."³¹⁶ Part of McIntire's uneasiness might have stemmed from the fact that his wife was not available to wait on him during the night. It then fell to "the boys" to see to the overnight needs of both parents. Margaret was mentioned but one more time in his diary. In late January 1899 McIntire remarked that she was "suffering with vertigo, and we got Mrs. Parrott to come and work."³¹⁷

McIntire's 1899 diary consisted of but 40 entries and began with the lament that "[I] am not able to keep warm at night." On his 67th birthday, January 9, McIntire feared "not seeing another birthday, but I was the same a year ago, for six I have not expected to live through any season. But I am possessed of a wonderful vitality and continue to live." McIntire's last January 9 on earth personified the contrasts of health and hurt that comprised the previous six years. He recorded in the same entry that described a

“wonderful vitality” that “late in this evening I had heart failure so I thought my life would end on my birth-day but I soon revived.”³¹⁸

The remainder of McIntire’s record reported the familiar ritual of visitors, farm activities, Henry’s engineering work, doctor visits, progress of the barn construction, a few comments on the cold, and his continued suffering. He posted no daily comments from February 9 to February 24, 1899, except to record in his shaky hand on February 9 the morning, noon, and evening temperatures, “-18, -10, -9,” and “Clear, W” for the state of the skies and the wind direction. Similar weather information was written on February 12 and 13, but it appeared to be in another’s handwriting. Apparently, it was important enough to McIntire that the information be recorded that he asked Margaret or one of his children to write it down.

Characteristic of McIntire’s diary-writing style, he deadpanned one final entry in his own hand on February 25: “I got up to have my bed fixed. John went back to Cincinnati at 3.”³¹⁹ By that time the local papers had picked up where McIntire’s record left off, reporting both the health of Elihu and Margaret and the comings and goings of family members:

- February 16, 1899: Dr. McIntire has had a hard time of it for the past two weeks. Thirty-five years with chronic diarrhea would try the strongest constitution that God ever made. Mrs. McIntire is sick this week but is mending.³²⁰
- February 17, 1899: John McIntire [is] in Mitchell to visit his sick father.³²¹
- February 24, 1899: Dr. E. S. McIntire is worse again this morning. Mrs. McIntire is better.³²²
- March 3, 1899: Dr. E. S. McIntire rested easier last night. Mrs. McIntire is a little better.³²³
- March 3, 1899: Dr. and Mrs. E. S. McIntire are much better.³²⁴

- March 10, 1899: Dr. E. S. McIntire's condition remains unchanged. Mrs. McIntire is able to be up, but is not entirely recovered.³²⁵
- April 14, 1899: Miss Lou McIntire was in town yesterday.³²⁶
- April 21, 1899: Dr. E. S. McIntire is reported much worse and may die at any time.³²⁷
- May 4, 1899: Dr. E. S. McIntire is some better than he was. He asked particularly about that new engine of ours and cracked a little joke about wind power. There's too many papers run on wind already, doctor.³²⁸
- May 5, 1899: Henry McIntire came over on the ten train today.³²⁹

The regular visits of McIntire's children in the waning weeks of his life suggest that they might have suspected that his time was growing short.

The end came in the evening on May 7, 1899.³³⁰ No historical record offers details on McIntire's final hours or words or who was with him when he died. Those living at home—his wife Margaret, sons Henry and Charles and daughter Lou—were likely present at his passing. Mary and John, residing in Cincinnati, lived close enough to arrive by train in time for the May 9 funeral, but Ella, who resided in Louisiana, did not.³³¹ This is how the *Mitchell Commercial* described the funeral service:

An imposing Masonic funeral had been considered, but as the doctor disliked ostentation, the family made other arrangements and so at the home east of town Rev. Dr. Zaring and Rev. F. S. Hutcherson sang and preached in an old-fashioned, simple way.³³²

With the service's being held at the McIntire home, the location might have accommodated but a few friends and family members. Among these was Sadie Miller, a close friend of the family who was also one of the few guests invited to attend Ella's wedding in 1895.³³³ Four of McIntire's medical colleagues, Drs. Bullitt, Walls, Gibbons, and Byrnes, were among his pallbearers.³³⁴

In contrast to the intimacy of the funeral service, a large procession accompanied McIntire's mortal remains from his home on the two-and-one-half-mile journey to the cemetery in West Mitchell. Surviving members of the 32 Club, William A. Burton, W. J. Humston, and W. V. T. Murphy prepared a floral pillow "and were given special position in the procession." The Mitchell medical community was also represented in the cortege, as was the Grand Army of the Republic in the line of "more than forty carriages," no doubt in tribute to McIntire's influence and impact on the residents of Mitchell and Lawrence County.³³⁵

Obituaries ranged from brief to lengthy in the days that followed McIntire's death. The *Bedford Weekly Mail* reported McIntire's passing and noted that he was editor of the *Mitchell Commercial* "for many years" and had endured poor health "for some time."³³⁶ The *Indianapolis News* announced that McIntire died of "paralysis," and in addition to being editor of the *Commercial*, was a native of Ohio; graduated from the State University of Iowa; practiced medicine in Dallas City, Illinois; served with the 78th Illinois Volunteer Infantry during the Civil War; and was "an examining surgeon on the pension board."³³⁷

The *Bedford Democrat* offered that "failing health compelled him to retire from business, and he located on the farm where he died after years of suffering from disease contracted in the Army." The report added that McIntire "was a devoted member of the M. E. church, and frequently gave his expression of faith in the 23d Psalm: 'Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil.'³³⁸ Curiously, McIntire never once gave voice to such expressions of faith in his diary.

The *Mitchell Commercial's* obituary has been cited liberally in this history, so an exhaustive recitation is not provided here. However, two passages merit a mention in

considering McIntire's impact on his community. First, in the opening paragraph of the tribute, its writer admitted that McIntire's death, "although not unexpected and many times announced, came as a shock to his friends." Second, the obituary concluded with these tender lines:

To us the transition of Dr. McIntire comes as a personal loss for we had learned to admire him as he always had a helpful word of encouragement for us, for he knew of the trials that beset the pathway of the newspaperman. Peace to his memory.³³⁹

These words from his local newspaper, offered at his death, imply that McIntire was not simply another member of the community who endured an extended illness and lost his life. Rather, in a real sense, his passing was personal, as if part of the community had perished with him.

And in the just-quoted paragraph from the *Commercial*, the author rightly used the word *transition* to characterize what had happened to McIntire, not only in death, but also in the autumn of his life that preceded it. This time was punctuated by alternating periods of Indian Summer and frost, but McIntire struggled gamely against his setbacks—physical, professional, and otherwise—and appeared to gain a meeker and softer side. Represented by the ram, the words of the Fall rendition of James Thomson's "Four Seasons" trace this last of McIntire's transitions:

And, glorying in his might, the sturdy boy
Holds by the twisted horns the indignant ram.
Behold where bound, and of its robe bereft,
By needy man, that all-depending lord,
How meek, how patient, the mild creature lies!
What softness in its melancholy face,
What dumb complaining innocence appears!
Fear not, ye gentle tribes, 'tis not the knife
Of horrid slaughter that is o'er you waved;
No, 'tis the tender swain's well-guided shears,
Who having now, to pay his annual care,
Borrow'd your fleece, to you a cumbrous load,
Will send you bounding to your hills again.³⁴⁰

While the autumn did cause McIntire's life leaves to yellow and begin to float slowly downward, carried about by the zephyrs and zeitgeist of farm and family life, the snow that would soon cover them would bring renewal and life in the spring through those who followed after him.

At the Cemetery, Wife and Children

This narrative concludes where it began, with the death of Dr. Elihu S. McIntire, husband, father, journalist, physician, entrepreneur, soldier, and sufferer. The dozens of carriages that comprised his funeral procession made their way along Main Street to a rise at the western edge of the cemetery.³⁴¹ From that spot one could see eastward over the fairgrounds toward Mitchell, with a clear view of the homes and businesses that comprised a thriving town and citizenry that in a very real sense McIntire helped to build.³⁴² A visit to that spot today reveals that McIntire's grave has two west-facing markers. The first is a simple stone, similar in color and shape to those found at Arlington National Cemetery and bearing this inscription:

LIEUT. E. S. MCINTIRE
ASST. SURG., 78 ILL. INF.

A few feet to the west, in front of the first as one looks eastward, is a rough-edged, granite stone, resting on the ground, with a parchment scroll and daffodils carved in relief with the words:

E.S. MCINTIRE
DR. OF MEDICINE
1832-1899
MEMBER OF 78 ILL. VOL.

The one thing in common on both headstones was a mention of McIntire's military years, which might have been at his request or was an acknowledgment by his family of the importance he gave to that service.

Margaret Bowers McIntire remained in Mitchell for a few years after her husband's death, advertised the farm for sale in 1901, and eventually moved to Arkansas to live with her daughter Lou.³⁴³ Margaret passed away there in 1925, and all six of her children were present in Mitchell for her funeral. Margaret was buried beside her husband, and her grave is marked with a simple, polished-granite, square-cut stone, slightly larger than her husband's, and which was placed on a rough, stone pedestal. Plainly carved into the rock itself is her name and dates of birth and death:

MARGARET
BOWERS
MCINTIRE
JULY 16, 1832
APR. 1, 1925

The image of the two monuments side by side presents an compelling contrast, with Elihu's stone at ground level and the pedestal's making the top of Margaret's marker about two feet higher than her husband's.

Of Margaret and Elihu's children, who were "all good citizens and highly respected," only the sons remained in Lawrence County.³⁴⁴ Henry served a few terms as county surveyor, Charles taught in the Lawrence County schools, and John worked for the railroad and farmed some land west of Mitchell. Ella moved to Louisiana, Mary lived in Cincinnati and Chicago, and Lou went to Arkansas and took care of her mother in Margaret's final years. A group photograph taken on the day of Margaret's funeral shows the siblings and their children. In the back corner of the image, looking camera-shy, was

14-year-old Earl Henry McIntire, my grandfather, the only one of Elihu's grandsons to carry on the family name.

Of McIntire's 67 years, his decade as editor of the *Mitchel(l) Commercial* served as the most significant influence on how he is remembered, as outlined in his obituaries and the biographical sketches of the period. The details within this cultural biography offer the grist for discovering what drove him to take the winding and compelling path that he did. In terms of sheer volume, the 400 pages of the 100-plus surviving issues of the *Commercial* offer a worthy complement to the 415 pages of his transcribed diary entries. Both records offer distinct dimensions of the public and private man and reveal the interplay of his life experiences and his journalism and how they mutually shaped each other. His farm upbringing, brushes with death, his physician-facilitated access to news events and newsmakers, and his feelings about the South and the Democratic Party all had a marked effect on how he reported events in his paper and which details he included and which he left out. In turn, his journalism background appeared to drive his habits of news consumption, facts-only diary accounts, as well as the close attention the newspapers in Bedford and Mitchell paid to him and his family in his declining years. The following chapter is a discussion about what those silences in his diary and newspaper suggest for this biography specifically and for cultural biography generally.

Notes from Chapter 7

¹ ESM, October 1, 1878.

² ESM, October 24, 1892.

³ ESM, October 26, 1898.

⁴ ESM, November 7, 1898.

⁵ Murdoch, *The Seasons*, 146–147.

⁶ ESM, January 1, 1884.

⁷ ESM, January 3 and 6, 1884.

⁸ ESM, January 10, 26, and 30, 1884; February 11 and 14, 1884. Hoop poles were rods cut from trees to be used as rollers for heavy loads or to serve as makeshift floors under haystacks. They were also used as stiffeners for the hoop skirts worn by women in the 19th century. Farmers often harvested hoop poles as a source of extra income, and it appears that that is how McIntire used them in this case. See also Jack Sanders, *Hidden History of Ridgefield Connecticut* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2015), 125–126, accessed May 27, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=f5loCgAAQBAJ&pg>.

⁹ *General Index of Deeds*, Lawrence County, Indiana, 1885 and 1886.

¹⁰ *Mitchell Commercial*, November 21, 1901, 4. The notice indicated that “Mrs. E. S. McIntire” was selling 140 acres.

¹¹ ESM, January 5, 1884.

¹² See ESM, January 11 and February 7, 1884; and McIntire’s financial-account register in his 1884 diary.

¹³ *Indiana State Sentinel*, June 10, 1885, 5; *Indianapolis News*, May 9, 1899, 7.

¹⁴ *An Act to Grant Pensions*, 566–569; *An Act to Revise*, 566–577.

¹⁵ Claire Prechtel-Kluskens, “A Reasonable Degree of Promptitude”: Civil War Pension Application Processing, 1861–1885,” *Prologue* 42, no. 1 (Spring, 2010), accessed May 27, 2016, <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2010/spring/civilwarpension.html>. See also Rockport (Indiana) *Weekly Democrat*, May 30, 1885, 2.

¹⁶ See ESM, January 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, and February 6 and 13, 1884.

¹⁷ “A Reasonable Degree of Promptitude,” accessed May 27, 2016, <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2010/spring/civilwarpension.html>.

¹⁸ Fort Wayne (IN) *Daily Gazette*, March 7, 1885, 2.

¹⁹ *Columbus (IN) Herald*, May 1, 1885, 8.

²⁰ *Rockport (IN) Weekly Democrat*, May 2, 1885, 1.

²¹ *Indiana State Sentinel*, June 10, 1885, 5.

²² *Indianapolis News*, June 8, 1885, 4.

²³ *Bloomington (IN) Progress*, June 10, 1885, 2.

²⁴ *Louisville Medical News*, September 5, 1885, 149. accessed May 27, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=-fafAAAAMAAJ&pg>.

²⁵ *Columbus (IN) Republic*, May 14, 1885, 2.

²⁶ *Bremen (IN) Enquirer*, December 3, 1887, 3.

²⁷ *Bedford Mail*, August 20, 1885, 5.

²⁸ See ESM, March 3, March 15, May 15, June 28, December 2, December 6, 1871; January 12, February 26, 1876; and March 28, 1895.

²⁹ See, for example, ESM, December 2, 1871; January 29, February 26, March 19, 1876; May 16, 1895; March 9, 1896; May 29, 1897; and April 14, 1898.

³⁰ *Minutes Kept by the Clerks of the Incorporated Town of Mitchell, 1864–1907*, as cited in Stroud, *My Legacy*, 156; Edwards, *History of Mitchell*, 125.

³¹ *History of Lawrence and Orange*, 280–281.

³² Stroud, *My Legacy*, 44.

³³ *History of Lawrence and Monroe*, 128; Stroud, *My Legacy*, 156. See also Edwards, *History of Mitchell*, 43–44; *Lawrence Mail*, March 12, 1885, 5.

³⁴ See, for example, ESM, April 18, 1876; January 8, March 6, June 12, June 24, July 3, October 13, 1878; March 8, 1888; and June 2, 1892.

³⁵ ESM, November 14, 1878.

³⁶ ESM, February 7, 1888.

³⁷ ESM, February 18, March 3, July 1, 1891.

³⁸ ESM, July 7, 1898.

³⁹ ESM, July 14–15, 1898.

⁴⁰ *Bedford Mail*, March 17, 1887, 4.

⁴¹ Benjamin Harrison, born in Ohio, moved to Indiana in his early twenties to practice law and lived in the state the rest of his life. See “Early Years,” accessed June 9, 2016, <http://www.bhpsite.org/learn/benjamin-harrison-1/early-years>. See also ESM, November 9, 1892.

⁴² *Mitchel Commercial*, February 24, 1881, 2.

⁴³ See, for example, *Mitchel Commercial*, February 17, 1881, 2; March 24, 1881, 2; April 28, 1881, 2; February 16, 1882, 2; and October 12, 1882, 2.

⁴⁴ *Mitchel Commercial*, February 24, 1881, 2.

⁴⁵ See *An Act making Appropriations for the current and contingent Expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling Treaty Stipulations with various Indian Tribes, for the Year ending June thirty, eighteen hundred and seventy-two, and for other Purposes*, U.S. Statutes at Large 16 (1871): 570, accessed March 4, 2017, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=016/llsl016.db&recNum=2>.

⁴⁶ C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, “Late 19th Century U.S. Indian Policy,” accessed March 3, 2017, <http://americanhistory.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-312>. See also *Indiana State Sentinel*, July 12, 1876, 1. The *Sentinel* cited Brig. Gen. Alfred H. Terry’s official report, which indicated 250 dead and 51 wounded of the men Custer commanded. The report did not specify how many Native American dead or wounded that resulted from the battle.

⁴⁷ *Mitchel Commercial*, February 24, 1881, 2.

⁴⁸ *Mitchel Commercial*, December 30, 1880, 2.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, August 4, 1881, 2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, December 30, 1880, 3; April 20, 1882, 3.

⁵¹ See, for example, *Mitchel(l) Commercial*, June 1, 1876, 4; January 19, 1882, 2; February 2, 1882, 2; March 2, 1882, 1, 2; March 10, 1881, 3; and April 7, 1881, 3; ESM, August 4, 1888; and September 5, 1888. For examples of how newspapers promoted transportation, commerce, and civic improvements during the westward expansion of America in the 19th century, see Cloud, *Business of Newspapers*, 119–120; Hage, *Minnesota Frontier*, 11–14; Lyon, *Pioneer Editor*, 42–46; and Boorstin, *The Americans*, 124–134.

⁵² *Mitchel Commercial*, March 3, 1881, 2.

⁵³ Ibid., March 31, 1881, 2.

⁵⁴ McIntire was listed as being elected a Mitchell Schools trustee in *History of Lawrence and Orange*, 157.

⁵⁵ Boorstin, *The Americans*, 134.

⁵⁶ For examples, see *Bedford Mail*, March 8, 1888, 2; ESM, April 27, 1878; February 25, 1888; June 7, 25, 1888; February 15, 1891; December 12, 1891; January 23, June 10 and 23, and July 5, 1892; June 16, 1896; and July 25, 1897.

⁵⁷ ESM, February 10, 20, and March 4, 1892. See also ESM, Cash Account, February 10 and 19, 1892, where McIntire paid for announcements in the *Mitchell Commercial* and *Bedford Mail* to promote son Henry's candidacy.

⁵⁸ ESM, March 28, 1892; *Bedford Mail*, April 1, 1892, 3; December 9, 1892, 3; November 9, 1894, 8.

⁵⁹ ESM, November 8, 1898.

⁶⁰ ESM, November 9, 1898.

⁶¹ ESM, June 29, 1888. Inflation calculator accessed July 11, 2016, www.westegg.com.

⁶² ESM, July 2, 1888.

⁶³ Jones was described as a "pension attorney" in the *Bedford Daily Mail*. See the January 2, 1901, and December 24, 1901, page 1 of each issue, for examples.

⁶⁴ See, for example, *Mitchel Commercial*, April 7, 1881, 2; July 7, 1881, 2; and October 27, 1881, 3.

⁶⁵ Gaillard Hunt, "The United States Pension Office," *Atlantic Monthly* 65, no. 387 (January 1890): 18–19, accessed July 13, 2016, <https://www.unz.org/Pub/AtlanticMonthly-1890jan-00018>.

⁶⁶ ESM, July 3, August 8, August 23, and September 19, 1888.

⁶⁷ ESM, August 23, 1888.

⁶⁸ ESM, July 27, August 2, and August 23, 1888; April 1 and May 9, 1891.

⁶⁹ ESM, August 29, 1888; August 29, 1891; and July 25, 1892.

⁷⁰ See, for example, ESM, January 12, September 21, and November 25, 1891.

⁷¹ ESM, April 12, July 22, and September 9, 1891; and April 25, 1892.

⁷² ESM, June 5, June 6, and September 25, 1891.

⁷³ ESM, January 15, March 3, June 25, and November 24, 1891; and January 28, 1892.

⁷⁴ ESM, August 23, 1888, and November 26, 1892.

⁷⁵ Hunt, "Pension Office," 18–19.

⁷⁶ ESM, September 3, 1888; and January 2, 1891.

⁷⁷ ESM, February 27, 1895.

⁷⁸ *Bedford Daily Mail*, December 9, 1903, 1.

⁷⁹ See, for example, ESM, February 4 and 8, May 4 and 10, August 5 and 14, and November 4 and 10, 1895.

⁸⁰ *Bedford Mail*, March 17, 1887, 5.

⁸¹ A cursory review of the Lawrence County Courthouse records during the period that coincided with the McIntire deed information revealed that about 30 percent of the deeds were granted to women. Thus, it was not unusual that Margaret Bowers McIntire was nominally the owner of some of the McIntire acreage. It is not known the specific reasons for the division of ownership of the McIntire family farm.

⁸² *Tax Duplicate & Delinquent List*, no. 2 (Lawrence County, Indiana, 1889).

⁸³ B. N. Griffing, *An Atlas of Lawrence County, Indiana* (Philadelphia, PA: D. J. Lake & Co., 1879), 39. The referenced map lists “S. S. Perdue” as the owner of the property as of 1879. A nearly identical undated map on display at the Lawrence County Museum lists “E. S. McIntire” in the same location where S. S. Perdue’s name appeared on the 1879 map.

⁸⁴ ESM, January 5, 1888; February 22, 1888; September 9, 1895; March 25, 1898; and May 29, 1898.

⁸⁵ See ESM, January 11, 1891, or April 19, 1892, for mentions of ponds. This modern-day description of the farm is based on two on-site visits by the researcher in April 2015 and March 2016, respectively.

⁸⁶ ESM, September 19, 1896.

⁸⁷ ESM, April 24, 1897.

⁸⁸ ESM, September 19, 1897.

⁸⁹ The photograph was likely taken on a cloudy day, because there are no well-defined shadows cast by the fence posts, the trees, or the young ladies in the foreground. With the lack of shadows, it is difficult to determine which direction the house faced, but based on McIntire’s descriptions of sitting on his porch to observe “road men” doing grading or watching trains go by, it is most likely that the house faced south, and looking directly from his porch he could see the work to build what is now Mill Creek Road, as well as passing trains on the O & M railroad tracks a few hundred feet in front of him. See ESM, August 24–27, 1897. Other elements of the photograph are also consistent with McIntire’s references to his house and farm. For example, a barn is visible to the northeast of the house, whose construction McIntire mentioned in his 1892 diary. See ESM, February 16–17 and October 19, 28, 1892. It cannot be conclusively determined if the photograph is actually of the McIntire farmhouse, but there is enough consistency between the elements therein and McIntire’s diary descriptions to suggest it as a strong possibility.

⁹⁰ See, for examples, ESM, January 3, 1888; May 10, 1891; March 25, 1892; January 23, 1898; March 4, 1898; and May 13, 1898.

⁹¹ See, for example, ESM, April 24, 1888; January 29, 1891; February 5, 1892; March 31, 1892; and May 16, 1895.

⁹² ESM, July 21, 31, 1891. See also Stroud, *My Legacy*, 161, and *History of Lawrence, and Orange*, 338, for a biographical sketch of Dr. William W. Yandell.

⁹³ ESM, January 2, 1888.

⁹⁴ ESM, January 3–4, 1888.

⁹⁵ ESM, April 24, 1898, and February 9, 1891. It is not known if Margaret was milking the cow or simply had close-enough contact to be “work[ed] over.”

⁹⁶ See, for example, ESM, November 19, December 8, 1891; November 9, November 29, 1892; January 30, November 21, December 31, 1895.

⁹⁷ See ESM, March 25, 1892; March 17, 1896; and September 9, 1898.

⁹⁸ See “Breeds of Livestock—Berkshire Swine,” accessed June 11, 2016, <http://www.ansi.okstate.edu/breeds/swine/berkshire/>.

⁹⁹ Phil M. Springer, ed., *American Berkshire Record*, Volume IX (Springfield, IL: American Berkshire Association, 1888), 2760–2761, 3018, 3024, 3058. See also ESM, January 10, 1891; January 8, December 13, 1895; and May 26, 1898.

¹⁰⁰ ESM, May 21, 1888.

- ¹⁰¹ ESM, January 17, 1898.
- ¹⁰² *Mitchell Commercial*, October 7, 1897, 4.
- ¹⁰³ ESM, August 7, 1891.
- ¹⁰⁴ ESM, May 9, 1891, and May 13, 1895.
- ¹⁰⁵ See, for example, ESM, May 18, 1888; April 20, 1891; January 29, 1892; January 21, 1895; and December 5, 1898.
- ¹⁰⁶ ESM, February 12, 1895.
- ¹⁰⁷ ESM, April 8, 1888, and September 22, 1892.
- ¹⁰⁸ ESM, April 25, 1888.
- ¹⁰⁹ ESM, May 18, 1898. See also *The Indianapolis News*, April 20, 1895, 12, which stated that “the greatest achievement [in the industry] was the invention of the safety bicycle, of which millions have been manufactured and sold in a few years.”
- ¹¹⁰ ESM, December 14, 1895.
- ¹¹¹ ESM, December 26, 1898, and January 4, 1891.
- ¹¹² ESM, February 17, March 18, and March 30, 1888.
- ¹¹³ ESM, June 29, 1892.
- ¹¹⁴ ESM, April 19, 1888. See also Jacob Weidenmann, *A Handbook of Landscape Gardening* (Orange Judd and Company: New York, 1870), 8–9; accessed October 4, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=wWLZAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- ¹¹⁵ See ESM, June through September 1891. During those months McIntire gave a nearly day-by-day description of the digging of the well.
- ¹¹⁶ ESM, April 2 and June 6, 1888; April 15, 17, 21, and 28, 1891; February 10, March 31, and July 29, 1892; April 6 and July 21, 1895; and April 16, 1896.
- ¹¹⁷ ESM, June 9, 1888, and July 21, 1895.
- ¹¹⁸ ESM, May 31 and June 28, 1892; June 24, 1895.
- ¹¹⁹ ESM, June 4 and 20, 1892; June 24, 1895; and June 2, 1896.
- ¹²⁰ ESM, June 4, 1892.
- ¹²¹ ESM, January 19, 1888.
- ¹²² ESM, April 17 and 23, 1891; April 9 and May 2, 1892. For commentary on the quality of Ben Davis apples, see also *Second Biennial Report of the Kansas State Horticultural Society, for the Years 1889–90* (Topeka, KS: Clifford C. Baker, 1891), 137, accessed June 25, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=qQhJAAAAMAAJ&pg>.
- ¹²³ ESM, March 29, 1888, and February 1, 1892.
- ¹²⁴ James C. Whorton, *Before Silent Spring: Pesticides and Public Health in Pre-DDT America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), 22–23, accessed June 14, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=yKV9BgAAQBAJ&pg>; “Copper Compounds—Bordeaux,” accessed June 15, 2016, <http://extension.psu.edu/plants/gardening/fphg/pests-pesticides/fungicides-herbicides-and-insecticides/pesticide-types/copper>; see also ESM, April 21 and 27, 1888; April 18 and 25, 1892.
- ¹²⁵ ESM, October 15 and 22, 1891; July 6, 1892; August 3, September 25, and October 8 and 17, 1895.
- ¹²⁶ ESM, December 2, 1891; July 15, 1895; February 27, 1896. McIntire did not indicate how much was brought in from the sale of plums.
- ¹²⁷ ESM, July, 2, 1892; April 3, 1895; and March 9, 1898.

¹²⁸ *Mitchel Commercial*, January 13, 1881, 3, and January 27, 1881, 3.

¹²⁹ See ESM, June 6, 1891; August 13, 1895; August 1 and October 4, 1897; and July 30, 1898. For a discussion of the modern usage of *drouth* and *drought* to describe dry conditions, see also “Pronouncing a Dry Spell,” a Reuters wire story that appeared in *The New York Times*, August 15, 1988, accessed June 24, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/1988/08/15/us/pronouncing-a-dry-spell.html>.

¹³⁰ ESM, February 8, 1884; April 2, 1897; and March 24–25, 1898.

¹³¹ ESM, April 16 and 24, June 9, 1871.

¹³² ESM, February 29 and June 21, 1888; March 11, April 20, and May 21, 1891; June 4, 1892; and August 23, 1897.

¹³³ ESM, February 29, 1888; March 11, 1891; and December 9, 1892.

¹³⁴ ESM, February 23, 1888.

¹³⁵ ESM, February 21, 1888. McIntire mentioned the tract of land at Turley’s only in his 1888 diary, so that might have been the only year he worked any land outside his own farm for cultivation. He also occasionally rented his own land to others for growing. Ben Kelly planted corn and a Mrs. Brewer raised potatoes on McIntire’s farm in 1891 and 1892, respectively. See ESM, March 17, 1891, and April 7, 1892. According to McIntire financial records for those years, no money changed hands between him and Ben Kelly or Mrs. Brewer. They may have arranged for some sort of in-kind exchanges that were agreeable to all parties and were therefore not reflected in McIntire’s cash-account ledger.

¹³⁶ ESM, March 8, 9 and 17, 1888; April 4, 6, 19, 30, 1888; March 11 and April 13, 1891; and March 26, 1895.

¹³⁷ ESM, May 5 and 26, 1888; June 24, 1892; May 24, 1895; May 19, 1897; and May 17 and June 16, 1898.

¹³⁸ ESM, July 16 and 21, 1888; July 16 and August 2–3, 1895.

¹³⁹ ESM, September 8, 23, and 30, 1891; September 14 and 26, 1892; September 17, 1895; October 3 and 8, 1891; October 17 and 25, 1892; October 2 and 15, 1897; and October 25, 1898.

¹⁴⁰ See, for example, ESM, January 25 and February 18, 1888; November 5, 8, and 30, and December 8, 1891; November 9, 16, and 29, 1892; February 12, November 21, and December 26 and 31, 1895; January 8, 1896; January 12 and November 3, 1898.

¹⁴¹ ESM, January 14, 1888.

¹⁴² See, for example, ESM, January 8, 1891. See also ESM, January 3 and 9, February 11, 1888; January 14, 1898; and January 25, 1899.

¹⁴³ ESM, November 22, 1892, and September 21, 1895. See the financial calculator at www.westegg.com for the price conversion, as well as McIntire’s financial register for January, February, and April 1891; and September 1895. For other examples of obtaining coal for the family’s use, see ESM, January 10, and November 17, 1891; January 5, 1892; January 31, 1895; January 1, 1896; December 13, 1898; and February 7, 1899.

¹⁴⁴ *Mitchel Commercial*, March 31, 1881, 4.

¹⁴⁵ Elihu and Margaret Bowers McIntire also had a stillborn child in 1864, information accessed October 1, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/tree/person/21T7-WZX/details>.

¹⁴⁶ ESM, November 12, 1892, and November 12, 1898.

¹⁴⁷ ESM, January 11, March 14, May 3, and August 13, 1878.

- ¹⁴⁸ See, for example, ESM, January 9, 1892; May 11, August 16, and September 10, 1895; May 1, 1897; and January 29, February 10, and September 7, 1898.
- ¹⁴⁹ See ESM, February 14 and March 5, 1888; June 8, 1891; January 4 and May 23, 1892; and January 31, 1895.
- ¹⁵⁰ See ESM, January 6, 1891; December 1, 1892; January 18, 1895; and September 24, 1896.
- ¹⁵¹ Newton (KS) *Daily Republican*, June 7, 1887, 4; ESM, January 6, 1891.
- ¹⁵² See, for example, ESM, January 23, April 4, and August 2–3, 1888; January 19 and September 7, 1892; and August 2, 1895.
- ¹⁵³ ESM, June 13, 1895, and January 8, 1898.
- ¹⁵⁴ An electronic copy of the marriage license of Henry McIntire and Lillie Ann Landreth, accessed October 4, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9392-91SP-KP?i=245&wc=Q69L-2F6%3A121350801%2C123821201%3Fcc%3D1614804&cc=1614804>.
- ¹⁵⁵ ESM, January 21, 1871.
- ¹⁵⁶ See, for example, ESM, June 26, 1888; April 13, October 14 and 28, December 17 and 19, 1891; and January 29, October 17 and 28, and November 9, 1892.
- ¹⁵⁷ ESM, May 17, 1888.
- ¹⁵⁸ ESM, April 15 and December 21, 1895; January 6 and February 28, 1896.
- ¹⁵⁹ ESM, October 1, 1895.
- ¹⁶⁰ ESM, November 9, 1892; February 9, 1895; January 11, 1896; and January 29, 1898.
- ¹⁶¹ ESM, April 29 and May 18, 1896.
- ¹⁶² An electronic copy of the marriage license of Charles McIntire and Mabel Walls, accessed October 4, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-GPXF-94LQ?i=264&wc=Q8SH-5TH%3A962986501%2C963048201%3Fcc%3D1410397&cc=1410397>.
- ¹⁶³ ESM, October 1, 1878.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Mitchel Commercial*, June 8 1881, 2.
- ¹⁶⁵ ESM, April 17 and May 3, 1888; March 24, 1891; June 22, 1895; and May 24, 1897.
- ¹⁶⁶ ESM, April 5, May 28, September 23, and December 27, 1892; July 25, 1895.
- ¹⁶⁷ See, for example, ESM, January 20, October 28, and December 16, 1895; January 3, 1896.
- ¹⁶⁸ ESM, January 11, 1896, and October 13, 1897.
- ¹⁶⁹ *Mitchell Commercial*, March 15, 1906, 2; ESM, March 29, 1896; and January 3, 1899.
- ¹⁷⁰ An electronic copy of the marriage license of John McIntire and Elizabeth Biggs, accessed October 4, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-GPXF-94LQ?i=264&wc=Q8SH-5TH%3A962986501%2C963048201%3Fcc%3D1410397&cc=1410397>.
- ¹⁷¹ ESM, January 1, 1888.
- ¹⁷² ESM, March 17, 1871.
- ¹⁷³ ESM, January 19, 1876.
- ¹⁷⁴ ESM, May 3 and June 7, 1878. Mary and Henry were mentioned 20 and 16 times, respectively, in McIntire's 1878 diary as helping in the printing office, while Ella was mentioned only twice.
- ¹⁷⁵ ESM, November 2, 1878.
- ¹⁷⁶ ESM, July 1–2, 1878.

¹⁷⁷ ESM, January 1, 1884; November 7 and 26, and December 2, 1891; March 16 and September 13, 1892. Two other events related to Ella's career as an educator were worthy of note in McIntire's diary. One was her unsuccessful efforts to secure a teaching position for her brother John in Tunnelton, a nearby town. See ESM, September 15, 1892. The other was when her school in Huron burned down just before Christmas, which left her without a teaching job for a time. See ESM, December 23, 1892.

¹⁷⁸ ESM, July 25, 1888.

¹⁷⁹ ESM, January 22, 1888

¹⁸⁰ Newton (KS) *Daily Republican*, August 16, 1886, 4. A local newspaper account reported that Ella was called home to Mitchell in May 1887 "to the bedside of her father who [was] in ill health." See Newton (KS) *Daily Republican*, May 11, 1887, 4. Another account in the same newspaper in August of that year announced her return to Newton after a four-month stay in Indiana to reassume her post in the Second Ward school. See Newton (KS) *Daily Republican*, August 14, 1887. No other source indicated that McIntire had had such health problems in the spring and summer of 1887, but apparently they were serious enough to summon Ella home and keep her there for the summer.

¹⁸¹ ESM, July 12, 1888.

¹⁸² Upon Ella's return from Kansas she was elected secretary of the Republican women's club, resumed both her teacher training and her teaching career, spent time with her siblings, and served in the community. See ESM, September 3, 1888; February 6, 1891; May 26, July 29, August 8, and September 8, 1892.

¹⁸³ ESM, April 4, 1895.

¹⁸⁴ ESM, April 30, October 8, and December 4, 1895; April 27, 1898.

¹⁸⁵ ESM, September 25, 1896.

¹⁸⁶ ESM, July 25, 1898.

¹⁸⁷ ESM, September 8, 1898.

¹⁸⁸ ESM, October 14, 1898.

¹⁸⁹ ESM, January 21, 1871.

¹⁹⁰ ESM, November 30 and December 2, 1871.

¹⁹¹ ESM, July 27 and August 4, 1878; Newton (KS) *Daily Republican*, July 21, 1887, 4.

¹⁹² See, for example, ESM, January 10, 1876; June 17, July 22, and September 19, 1888; February 5 and October 29, 1891; July 28 and September 10, 1892; and July 4, July 28, and September 10, 1895.

¹⁹³ ESM, January 21, June 6 and July 25, 1888. Upon further research it was discovered that Lucy, who by this time went by "Lou," worked as a clerk in the G. W. Holmes real-estate office in Newton. See Newton (KS) *Daily Republican*, July 21, 1887, 4; August 24, 1887, 4. Lou was also active in the Newton chapter of the Order of the Eastern Star, the women's organization associated with the Freemasons, and served as secretary. See *The Evening Kansan*, April 24, 1888, 1.

¹⁹⁴ Newton (KS) *Daily Republican*, May 24, 1888, 4.

¹⁹⁵ ESM, March 21, 1888, and August 3–16, 1892.

¹⁹⁶ ESM, December 24, 1895.

¹⁹⁷ *Mitchell Commercial*, November 18, 1897, 4.

¹⁹⁸ "Indiana Marriages, 1811–2007," Lawrence County, 1880–1886, Volume G, image 311 of 320; County clerk offices, Indiana, accessed July 25, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/pal:MM9.3.1/TH-1942-21140-10527-19?cc=1410397>.

¹⁹⁹ “Sarah H. Baylie Webster, accessed July 25, 2016, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=48916362>. See also Indiana Marriages, 1811–2007, Lawrence County, 1912–1914 Volume 4, image 270 of 324; County clerk offices, Indiana, accessed July 25, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/pal:MM9.3.1/TH-1942-21144-10729-23?cc=1410397>.

²⁰⁰ ESM, February 18, 1878.

²⁰¹ ESM, April 13, May 3, May 6, and May 18, 1878. At times one of Mary’s siblings took her to her school or brought her home, and sometimes she went on horseback. See ESM, June 8 and November 1, 1878.

²⁰² Mary taught school intermittently in 1878, and when she was home for extended periods she could be found at the printing office. See ESM, June 25 and August 13, 1878. Doubtless she was a big help to her father, but she only had two hands. “I am getting along slowly with work. We have too much to do for Mary,” wrote McIntire, perhaps in need of hiring more help while Henry, who also helped out in the office, was in school. See ESM, November 20, 1878. Due to the five-year gap in McIntire’s diaries from 1879 through 1883, his private record does not reveal how long Mary continued with her printing and teaching careers. As previously noted, the 1880 U.S. Census for Lawrence County lists Mary’s occupation as “Printer,” as it also did for Henry, so it is possible that Mary spent more time at the press than in the classroom, working closely with her father, at least for another two years.

²⁰³ ESM, January 3 and 6, 1884.

²⁰⁴ ESM, February 3, 1884.

²⁰⁵ An electronic copy of the marriage license of Mary McIntire and George McAvoy, accessed October 4, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-GPX2-ZRG?i=226&wc=Q8SH-51M%3A962986501%2C963021801%3Fcc%3D1410397&cc=1410397>.

²⁰⁶ For examples, see ESM, January 7, 26, and 31, 1888; June 11 and August 18, 1888; May 24 and December 2, 1891; August 23, 1892; April 3 and August 13, 1895; February 27, 1896; August 9, 1897; and February 21, 1898.

²⁰⁷ Blanche is mentioned 18 times in McIntire’s diaries, followed by her brother Trush, born in 1888; sister Lorena, born in 1889; and cousin Margaret (Ella’s daughter), born in 1897; who were named 11, 7, and 4 times, respectively, in his private record.

²⁰⁸ ESM, March 18, 1888; April 20, 1896; and May 23, 1897.

²⁰⁹ ESM, May 10, 1896.

²¹⁰ *Bedford Democrat*, July 1, 1898, 8.

²¹¹ *Mitchell Commercial*, July 14, 1898, 1.

²¹² *Bedford Democrat*, July 29, 1898, 8; *Mitchell Commercial*, January 5, 1899, 4.

²¹³ *Bedford Daily Mail*, May 11, 1896, 4; *Mitchell Commercial*, May 14, 1896, 4.

²¹⁴ See, for example, ESM, June 26, 1871; January 28, February 8 and 12, and April 15, 1888; February 6 and 9, May 17, July 3, and October 18, 1891; March 4, 1892; July 17, 1897; and December 19, 1898.

²¹⁵ ESM, March 12, 1871; August 20 and September 25, 1892.

²¹⁶ ESM, January 9 and 17, 1892; January 18, 1898.

²¹⁷ ESM, March 19, 1871; January 12, 1878; March 18, 1888; July 3, 1891; and May 29, 1892.

- ²¹⁸ ESM, July 4, 1888; October 16, 1892; April 3, 1896; April 24, 1898; and January 20, March 29, May 26, and August 16, 1895.
- ²¹⁹ ESM, December 24 and 31, 1892.
- ²²⁰ See E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: BasicBooks, 1993), 44–46, 113–114, and Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 37–38 for discussions on the suppression of emotion in boys and men in 19th-century America.
- ²²¹ ESM, December 29, 1898.
- ²²² ESM, March 14 and 19, June 22, September 17, 21, and 27, and October 23, 1892.
- ²²³ *Bedford Daily Mail*, January 13, 1893, 4, and January 27, 1893, 2.
- ²²⁴ See ESM, January 20, 1876; January 18, April 21 and 30, and May 28, 1892; and September 26 and December 21, 1898.
- ²²⁵ See, for example, ESM, January 4, 1871; February 4, 1876, April 5 and June 27, 1888; February 26, March 29, May 17, July 13, and December 14, 1891; August 26, 1892; February 28 and October 3, 1895; May 1 and July 30, 1897; and March 22, 1898.
- ²²⁶ ESM, August 10, 1888, and June 20, 1892.
- ²²⁷ See ESM, May 5, 12, 16, 1891; June 23, 1891; July 2, 7, 15, and 21, 1891.
- ²²⁸ See, for example, ESM, June 26, 1892; April 24 and May 5, 1895; January 16, 1896; and April 6, 1897.
- ²²⁹ ESM, April 13, 15, and 17, 1888.
- ²³⁰ ESM, June 17, 1891.
- ²³¹ ESM, January 26, 1892.
- ²³² ESM, December 29, 1895; January 1 and 14, 1896; and June 1, 1898.
- ²³³ ESM, May 18, 1891; February 7, March 31, and May 31, 1898.
- ²³⁴ ESM, May 16 and September 19, 1896; March 31, 1897; and September 5, 1898.
- ²³⁵ See ESM, July 12–13, September 27 and November 7, 1898, for examples.
- ²³⁶ “Parkinson’s disease,” accessed March 2, 2017, <http://www.mayoclinic.org/diseases-conditions/parkinsons-disease/basics/symptoms/con-20028488>. For examples of McIntire’s difficulties with movement, writing, or general shakiness, see ESM, December 22, 1895; January 14, 1896; September 24, 1897; and January 1, 1898.
- ²³⁷ See, for example, ESM, September 15, 1895; April 19, 1896; May 30, 1897; January 2, 1898; and January 8 1899.
- ²³⁸ ESM, April 4, 1895.
- ²³⁹ Darkes’ name was rendered alternately as “Dorkas” or “Dorkus” in McIntire’s diary, but he is listed as Darkes in the 1900 U.S. Census for Lawrence County, Indiana, as well as in the *Mitchell Commercial*, March 9, 1896, 1; and January 9, 1897, 1.
- ²⁴⁰ ESM, December 8, 1898.
- ²⁴¹ See, for example, *Bedford Democrat*, January 14, 1898, 8; and *Mitchell Commercial*, December 22, 1898, 4.
- ²⁴² ESM, January 9–10, 1898.
- ²⁴³ ESM, January 9, 1899.
- ²⁴⁴ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 26, 1898, 1; and December 22, 1898, 4.
- ²⁴⁵ ESM, August 13, 1892, and September 29, 1898. See <http://www.westegg.com/inflation/> for an inflation calculator.
- ²⁴⁶ ESM, September 28, 1892.

- ²⁴⁷ ESM, August 23 and 29, 1892.
- ²⁴⁸ ESM, May 23 and August 27 and 29, 1897.
- ²⁴⁹ See, for example, ESM, April 22, 1888; February 1 and December 27, 1891; January 10, September 4, and December 1, 1892. See also McIntire's February and June 1892, December 1895, February 1897, and February 1898 cash-account registers for amounts paid in subscriptions.
- ²⁵⁰ ESM, January 3, 1888; January 1892 cash-account register.
- ²⁵¹ *Mitchell Commercial*, March 23, 1876, 4.
- ²⁵² ESM, September 6, 1891; February 7 and November 20, 1892.
- ²⁵³ See, for example, ESM, January 26, 1888; May 18, 1895; and January 14, 1896.
- ²⁵⁴ ESM, January 5, 1892.
- ²⁵⁵ ESM, September 10, 1891; March 27, 1895.
- ²⁵⁶ ESM, September 2 and 7, 1897; January 24, 1898.
- ²⁵⁷ ESM, June 13, 1895.
- ²⁵⁸ ESM, July 28, August 1 and 4, 1895.
- ²⁵⁹ See ESM, October 2, 1896; May 6, June 2, July 17, August 21, 1897; and May 3, 1898.
- ²⁶⁰ See, for example, ESM, January 21, 1895; September 19, 1896; May 12, 18, and 27, August 19, and October 15, 1897; January 23, April 4, May 31, June 6 and 16, September 9, November 3 and 19, December 1, 1898.
- ²⁶¹ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 27, 1897, 4.
- ²⁶² ESM, May 26, 1897.
- ²⁶³ ESM, August 16, 1895.
- ²⁶⁴ *Mitchell Commercial*, October 12, 1899, 4; ESM, August 1895 cash-account register.
- ²⁶⁵ ESM cash-account register, March 1898.
- ²⁶⁶ ESM, May 29, 1897.
- ²⁶⁷ *Mitchell Commercial*, August 19, 1897, 4.
- ²⁶⁸ See, for example, ESM, April 10, October 23 and 31, and December 15, 1898.
- ²⁶⁹ ESM, February 4, 1899.
- ²⁷⁰ See, for example, ESM, February 5, 1895; January 6, 1896; June 27, 1897; and February 27, 1898.
- ²⁷¹ ESM, September 30 and October 15, 1897.
- ²⁷² See ESM, February 2, 1895; October 2, 1896; April 7, 1897; and February 16, 1898.
- ²⁷³ See, for example, ESM, February 20, 1895; May 1, 1897; and October 28, 1898.
- ²⁷⁴ ESM, August 27, 1878; June 28, 1888; and April 8, 1898.
- ²⁷⁵ "Antikamnia Tablets," accessed August 5, 2016, http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah_715845; ESM, January 22, 1891; February 15 and 28 and October 15, 1895; January 28, 1898; ESM cash-accounts register in June, August, September, November, and December 1892. See also Arthur L. Doran, "The Chemistry of the Pharmacopoeia," in *Year-book of Pharmacy Comprising Abstracts of Papers Relating to Pharmacy, Materia Medica, and Chemistry* (London: J & A Churchill, 1898), 456–458, accessed January 18, 2017, <https://books.google.com/books?id=IVwLAAAAYAAJ>.
- ²⁷⁶ McIntire listed the dates and amounts as follows: \$5.90 in February 1895, \$6.65 in May 1895, \$3.85 in August 1895, \$5.65 in November 1895, \$4.95 in February 1896,

\$7.25 in May 1896, \$7.75 in August 1896, \$11.05 in February 1898, and \$20.00 in November 1898.

²⁷⁷ ESM, January 1, 1896; April 6, 1897.

²⁷⁸ ESM, August 5 and November 4, 1895; May 4, 1896.

²⁷⁹ See ESM cash-accounts register, February, August, November 1892, and February 1896. See also ESM, May 4 and August 4, 1897; February 4 and November 4, 1898.

²⁸⁰ ESM, May 11, July 27 and September 26, 1897; February 8, April 28, and June 10, 1898; and January 15, 1899.

²⁸¹ ESM, January 21 and 28, March 5, 1896.

²⁸² ESM, August 5 and September 10, 1895; May 29, 1897; May 18 and 30, June 18, July 7, and November 8, 1898.

²⁸³ ESM, May 29, 1897; September 10, 1895; May 30, 1898; and July 7, 1898.

²⁸⁴ ESM, August 5, 1895; May 18, 1898; and November 8, 1898.

²⁸⁵ *Bedford Daily Mail*, August 6, 1895, 1.

²⁸⁶ *Mitchell Commercial*, June 23, 1898, 4.

²⁸⁷ See, for example, ESM, April 14, 1876; May 30, July 14, and August 14, 1878; and December 16, 1891.

²⁸⁸ ESM, May 7, 1871. See also ESM, March 12 and December 10, 1871.

²⁸⁹ See, for example, ESM, February 5, March 19, April 2, May 7, June 4, July 2, August 13, and September 24, 1871.

²⁹⁰ See ESM, April 7, May 5, and August 11, 1878, for examples.

²⁹¹ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 11, 1899, 4. For examples of visits to McIntire from Reverend Van Duyne, see ESM, December 8, 1892; January 22 and February 25, 1895; and May 12, 1896.

²⁹² ESM, November 17, 1892; October 9, 1898; and February 7, 1898.

²⁹³ ESM, September 10–11, 1888.

²⁹⁴ Grenville Kleiser, ed., *Dictionary of Proverbs* (New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing, 2005), 61.

²⁹⁵ ESM, March 25–26, 1898.

²⁹⁶ *Mitchell Commercial*, November 18, 1897, 4.

²⁹⁷ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 12, 1898, 1.

²⁹⁸ ESM, November 8, 1898.

²⁹⁹ *Mitchell Commercial*, November 18, 1897, 4.

³⁰⁰ ESM, February 17, 1895.

³⁰¹ *Mitchel Commercial*, March 9, 1882, 2.

³⁰² ESM, November 8, 1898.

³⁰³ *Bedford Daily Mail*, January 13, 1893, 4.

³⁰⁴ *Mitchell Commercial*, March 18, 1897, 1.

³⁰⁵ ESM, March 31, 1897.

³⁰⁶ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 6, 1897, 4.

³⁰⁷ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 27, 1897, 4.

³⁰⁸ *Mitchell Commercial*, January 13, 1898, 4; May 26, 1898, 1; July 14, 1898, 1; July 28, 1898, 4; and November 10, 1898, 4; *Bedford Democrat*, January 14, 1898, 8; July 1, 1898, 1; July 15, 1898; 4; and July 29, 1898, 8.

³⁰⁹ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 12, 1898, 1; June 23, 1898, 4.

³¹⁰ ESM, September 5, 1898.

- ³¹¹ ESM, September 10, 19, and 26, 1898.
- ³¹² ESM, September 21–23, 1898.
- ³¹³ See, for example, ESM, September 9, October 4 and 6, November 21, and December 5, 1898.
- ³¹⁴ ESM, July 19, October 2, and December 8, 1898.
- ³¹⁵ ESM, December 18, 1898.
- ³¹⁶ ESM, December 19, 1898.
- ³¹⁷ ESM, January 27, 1899.
- ³¹⁸ ESM, January 9, 1899.
- ³¹⁹ ESM, February 25, 1899.
- ³²⁰ *Mitchell Commercial*, February 16, 1899, 4.
- ³²¹ *Bedford Democrat*, February 17, 1899, 8.
- ³²² *Bedford Democrat*, February 24, 1899, 6.
- ³²³ *Bedford Democrat*, March 3, 1899, 6.
- ³²⁴ *Mitchell Commercial*, March 9, 1899, 4.
- ³²⁵ *Bedford Democrat*, March 10, 1899, 8.
- ³²⁶ *Bedford Democrat*, April 14, 1899, 8.
- ³²⁷ *Bedford Democrat*, April 21 1899, 6.
- ³²⁸ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 4, 1899, 4.
- ³²⁹ *Bedford Democrat*, May 5, 1899, 5.
- ³³⁰ *Bedford Democrat*, May 9, 1899, 8.
- ³³¹ *Bedford Democrat*, May 9, 1899, 8.
- ³³² *Mitchell Commercial*, May 11, 1899, 4.
- ³³³ *Bedford Democrat*, May 12, 1899, 8; ESM, April 4, 1895.
- ³³⁴ *Bedford Democrat*, May 12, 1899, 8.
- ³³⁵ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 11, 1899, 4.
- ³³⁶ *Bedford Weekly Mail*, May 12, 1899, 3.
- ³³⁷ *Indianapolis News*, May 9, 1899, 7.
- ³³⁸ *Bedford Democrat*, May 12, 1899, 8.
- ³³⁹ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 11, 1899, 4.
- ³⁴⁰ *The Seasons*, 75–76.
- ³⁴¹ McIntire's obituary (*Mitchell Commercial*, May 11, 1889, 4) states that the funeral procession "passed through town and drove to the cemetery." The assumption is that the route followed Main Street because it offered the most direct route to the cemetery, which has Main Street as its southern boundary.
- ³⁴² Griffing, *Atlas of Lawrence County*, 42.
- ³⁴³ *Mitchell Commercial*, November 21, 1901, 4.
- ³⁴⁴ *Bedford Democrat*, May 12, 1899, 2.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DISCUSSION

A time to keep silence, and a time to speak.

— *Ecclesiastes 3:7*

*1882: We talk and write at random—all of us talk and write on all manner of subjects, whether we know anything about them or not.*¹

The three-word title of a piece Elihu McIntire published in the *Mitchel Commercial* in early 1882 might sum up McIntire's view of this cultural biography: "Too Much Talk."² McIntire was a man of action who "disliked ostentation," as evidenced by his matter-of-fact, diary-writing style. So to get to the point, this chapter offers a conversation on the patterns and themes that emerged in McIntire's private record; the framing typology applied to this study, consisting of content, process, and placement of frames; examples of textual silences in McIntire's diary, newspaper, and this narrative; the value of framing and textual silences as analytical tools; and how these tools might inform historical writing and cultural biographies.

Patterns in McIntire's Diary Writing

The sheer number of McIntire's diary entries offers an opportunity to apply quantification to this historical study in the manner called for by Sloan and Stamm:

“Count the number of various items that appear in the publication and then group them according to similarities.”³ This evaluation considers both descriptive data and thematic elements that emerged in the private record McIntire kept intermittently between 1871 and 1899. We begin with the actual count.

I possess McIntire’s diaries from the following 13 calendar years: 1871, 1876, 1878–1879, 1884, 1888, 1891–1892, and 1895–1899. McIntire might have kept diaries during other years, but their whereabouts are not known as of this writing. He did not create a diary entry for every day of each of the years where a corresponding diary does exist, but out of 4,511 possible days within those 13 diary years beginning January 1, 1871, and ending May 7, 1899—the day of McIntire’s death—he recorded 3,007 entries, or 66 percent of that time span.

Gaps existed in McIntire’s record of those years, often because of illness. He wrote most frequently in the month of January, with 346 total entries from that month. From January to August McIntire wrote progressively fewer diary entries, and then in September there was a slight uptick in how often McIntire wrote, with 236 entries in that month compared to 218 in August. Then the downward pattern resumed from October to December, and in the final month of the year McIntire journaled only 177 times.

McIntire’s diary entries consisted of a total of 110,645 words with an overall average of 36.80 words per entry. This is consistent with his facts-only style in retelling the events of each day. His 1892 diary contained the most talk, with 15,738 words for an average of 43 words per day, but he was most prolific in a per-entry sense in 1876, while he was away from home working in the mail service and preparing to return to the *Commercial*. His 109 entries averaged nearly 67 words each day that year. One possible explanation for his 1876 verbosity is that during that period he might have had more time

to record his thoughts during his days off in St. Louis and Cincinnati between mail runs and in the weeks following his dismissal.

In transcribed form McIntire's entire diary fills 415 pages of a word-processing document, and the time-consuming digitization (four months) of his handwritten record made possible the counting and calculating of these figures. There were 40 instances among the 3,007 entries where a word or a portion of a word was not decipherable, and in about half of these cases it was a person's name that the transcriber was unable to identify.⁴ McIntire had a penchant for using "pritty" for the spelling of pretty, as in "[I] think the Commercial is going to take pritty [*sic*] fairly with the people."⁵ He used "pritty" 151 times in his diaries and applied the standard spelling of *pretty* only nine times.

These brief facts offer some limited ability to quantify the immensity of McIntire's accomplishment in being so faithful a diarist. The act of diary writing also personifies what Thomas Lindlof and Timothy Meyer call "daily rituals," within which "we are not accustomed to 'thinking' about what we do and why. We just seem 'to do [them].' Such experiences are thus hidden from us and are only rarely illuminated, and then only when examined in some considerable detail," which is what this dissertation has attempted to do.⁶ The thematic elements that emerged in McIntire's diary, which have a decidedly qualitative bent, will be considered "in detail" in the following discussion on framing.

Framing as Content and Process

As outlined previously, framing theory has been used in such a variety of ways that "a longstanding difficulty in discussions of framing is the plethora of widely

disparate, sometimes contradictory, definitions of the concept.”⁷ The typology to be applied herein combines elements of framing as described by Entman, Reber and Berger, and Zoch and Molleda, which were elaborated in the Theory chapter of this study. Recall that Entman argued that framing entails the *content*, or “the substantive information in the communicating text that can promote particular interpretations and evaluations,” as well as the *process* of giving salience to certain information in a visual or verbal text.⁸

Straddling content and process is Reber and Berger’s notion of combining descriptive sub frames and ideological master frames in discourse to appeal to audience members’ cognitive schemas to influence consumers of the message to support it.⁹ Zoch and Molleda suggested that the *placement* of the frame includes some elements and excludes others simply by where it is located.¹⁰

Couched in grammatical terms, the framing paradigm employs *frame* as both noun and verb, with the noun personifying the frame as a *thing*, the verb referring to the packaging or *process* of the frame, and where both are located in the sentence represents the *placement* of the frame, as determined by the framer. A review of the themes that emerged in McIntire’s diary will demonstrate the *content* aspect of framing, how McIntire’s contemporaries characterized him through their choice of words will illustrate the *process* dimension of framing, and a sampling of McIntire’s use of sub and master frames will consider how content and process work together within the framing construct. The *placement* of frames will be coupled with a discussion of textual silences in the next section as I reflect on what McIntire and others chose to write about him in the various genres considered in this study: diaries, letters, newspapers, life sketches, obituaries, and this very cultural biography.

One of the most basic ways to explore the frames that emerged in McIntire's personal writings is to identify the themes he wrote about. While it would be counterproductive if not impossible to pinpoint all of them, a few representative examples are offered here. To identify the prevailing frames in McIntire's diaries I performed an exercise on the entire corpus, which helped to "illuminate" the patterns and elicit "considerable detail" as called for by Lindlof and Meyer in their discussion of qualitative research referenced previously.¹¹ McIntire's ordinary, daily life emerged over time in his private record, just as Ulrich discovered in *A Midwife's Tale*. Recall Ulrich's observation that Martha Ballard "was not an introspective diarist, yet in this conscientious recording as much as in her occasional confessions, she revealed herself."¹² McIntire was similarly guarded in his record and, like Ballard, in the ritual of his diary writing, he transmitted many dimensions of his personality and character for the serious inquirer to see. These were elaborated in the seasonal chapters of this dissertation.

To accomplish this topical evaluation I reviewed each diary entry and identified the themes contained therein. Consider, for example, McIntire's diary entry from November 9, 1891: "Our long dry spell is broken, it rained last night and nearly all day. Wheat and newly sown grass was in extreme need of rain. I got pension check cashed and paid up accounts around town." For this entry I identified the weather, the farm, his pension check and financial concerns as the themes for this entry. Overall, 56 separate themes occurred or recurred in McIntire's 3,007 diary entries [see Appendix C for a complete list of those themes, the number of occurrences, and their corresponding percentages of total entries]. I entered these into a spreadsheet and tabulated the occurrences for each theme by month and year for the periods of 1871–1892 (his pre-

invalid years), 1895–1899 (his invalid years), and the entire span of his diary years (1871–1899).

To illustrate how McIntire's focus changed over time in his diaries, Table 1 shows the top 10 (most frequently occurring) themes and their corresponding percentages (number of occurrences divided by the number of entries for the period in question) for McIntire's entire diary, his preinvalid years, and his invalid years.

Overall, the weather was McIntire's most frequent diary theme, but for understandable reasons his health became his top topic during his invalid period. The salience of his family, the farm, and news items remained constant, as they were among his preferred themes throughout his diary-keeping years. Business and economic (financial) concerns appeared to be less important to him in his invalid years, as evidenced by the reduced frequency with which they were mentioned, and emotional expressions became more common in his diaries during that same period. These figures might not reach a level of *statistical* significance, but they do appear to represent a

Table 1. Top 10 themes/percentages for McIntire's entire diary, pre-invalid, and invalid years

Entire Diary (3,007 entries)	Preinvalid (1,881 entries)	Invalid (1,126 entries)
Weather (65.01%)	Weather (71.50%)	Health (64.48%)
Health (34.42%)	Business (27.86%)	Weather (54.17%)
Family (33.16%)	Family (27.64%)	Family (42.36%)
Farm (20.19%)	Farm (19.99%)	Visitors (28.86%)
Visitors (18.12%)	Health (16.43%)	Farm (20.52%)
Business (17.43%)	<i>Commercial</i> (13.02%)	News (9.77%)
News (9.98%)	Visitors (11.70%)	Emotion (6.93%)
<i>Commercial</i> (8.35%)	News (10.10%)	Letters (5.51%)
Events (6.72%)	Reading Material (9.14%)	Events (3.91%)
Rail Travel (6.72%)	Economic (9.14%)	Flora (3.38%)

change over time in McIntire's priorities of what themes he felt were important enough to write about in his diaries.

Identifying the *content* of frames, such as those that emerged in McIntire's diaries, is only a starting point in exploring the ways in which framing informs the writing of a cultural biography. Analyzing *how* a writer characterizes his/her subject can illustrate the *process* of framing beyond the *content* found in the frame. The way that McIntire's contemporaries framed him through their choices of words is one way to demonstrate that process.

McIntire's peers wrote about him in biographical sketches, rival-newspaper editorials, and in his obituaries. The content of these life summaries typically treated his farm-boy beginnings, service in the Army during the Civil War, medical career, newspaper years, health problems, and his contributions to the community. Fellow editors alternately took him to task for his controversial candor and political viewpoints or praised his character as they welcomed him to—or back to—the profession or acknowledged his visits to their offices. His obituaries in the *Commercial* and other newspapers offered a more cursory outline of his life and noted his diverse interests and activities. This section will explore how various writers described McIntire through the key words and phrases they employed. Some of these have already been highlighted in the narrative portion of this study, but they are reproduced here to demonstrate how McIntire's counterparts painted a vibrant picture of him.

Three biographical sketches of McIntire, two of which were written during his lifetime, lauded his service to the community and his medical and newspaper career. His work as a booster of Mitchell was particularly mentioned in the 1880 sketch of his life:

Doctor McIntire has been solicitous to do everything that was possible for him to do to promote the best interests of the place of his residence, and has been closely identified with the growth and prosperity of the town of Mitchell and of Lawrence County, having done all in his power, by the liberal use of his paper, to forward her many interests.¹³

The same sketch, which appeared when McIntire was eight years into his stint as editor, described the *Commercial* and its owner, respectively, as “an able and progressive newspaper,” and “a useful citizen, and esteemed as a clever, genial gentleman.”¹⁴ The 1884 vignette, published a year after McIntire sold his paper, offered that he “successfully conducted” the *Mitchell Commercial* for 11 years and concluded by stating that “as a journalist, physician, and citizen no man in the county is more popular, and the county would be better off had it more such men as Dr. McIntire.”¹⁵ Fifteen years after his death, another account recalled his medical practice, his politics, and his newspaper work, calling him “a leading doctor of his community” and “a strong anti-slavery man.” It summarized McIntire’s contribution this way: “As both a physician and editor he had few superiors in Lawrence County.”¹⁶

McIntire endured a few barbs from his fellow editors and angry readers during the course of his *Commercial* days. The *Fort Wayne Gazette* labeled him a “cheerful idiot” for his view that James G. Blaine was singlehandedly destroying the GOP in 1881. The piece concluded with this patronizing comment: “The astute editor of the *Commercial* must not hold his breath waiting for the funeral of the Republican Party.”¹⁷ Dr. J. T. Biggs, editor of the *Banner*, a rival paper in Lawrence County, responded to an 1876 editorial by McIntire by calling it “a rotten puff coming from . . . a rotten and disreputable source.”¹⁸ One of McIntire’s readers was disgusted that McIntire exaggerated the effect of a loud Democratic celebration by implying that it hastened the death of an old woman in Mitchell. The man paid to run a response in the *Commercial*:

“[McIntire] is mad, and has no regard for the truth.”¹⁹ With McIntire’s passion for Republican causes and the belief in the rightness of his opinion, it is no wonder that local historian Dorothy Stroud remarked, “Dr. McIntire made a goodly number of friends and an equal number of enemies” during his newspaper years.²⁰ McIntire’s seemingly all-consuming desire to boost his town might have also diminished his concern about what his opponents thought of him. In his mind he did what he did to support causes greater than himself—extolling the virtues of both Mitchell and Republicanism—and he seemed willing to digest the discontent of others.

Obituaries and death announcements from May 1899 were not only kind to McIntire’s memory, but their characterizations corroborated many of the things contained in his life sketches and offered additional details about McIntire’s character and associations. The *Mitchell Commercial* provided the longest and most comprehensive summary of McIntire’s life, and much of its content has already been recounted herein. It described an “old-fashioned, simple” funeral because “the Doctor disliked ostentation.” The announcement painted McIntire as “one of the best known men in Lawrence County,” under whose “masterful hand” and “brilliant mind with a vein of wit” the *Commercial* flourished.²¹ After leaving the *Commercial* McIntire was known to maintain ties with his journalist colleagues, and he visited them when he was physically able.²² That habit might have prompted the observation that “he always had a helpful word of encouragement for us, for he knew of the trials that beset the pathway of the newspaperman,” and even though “his death, although not unexpected and many times announced, [it] came as a shock to his friends.”²³

The *Bedford Democrat* printed both a death notice and an obituary of McIntire. The *Democrat* reported that McIntire was a “devoted member of the M. E. church,” an

“old and respected citizen of Lawrence County,” “had been at the point of death several times during the past two years,” and was “a man of learning, well-liked, and widely known.” The obituary also referenced McIntire’s precarious health, beginning not with his Civil War-related ailments but with his boyhood years: “As a child, for years he had to depend on the ministrations of his family, which was freely and cheerfully given.”²⁴ In no other record available to me was there any such indication that McIntire’s health troubles began so early in his life. Concerning his invalid years the death notice added, “Had it not been for the careful nursing of his devoted wife and children, he would have died long ago,” in a tender nod to the care that Margaret and her children provided to their husband and father. The account concluded with the acknowledgement that McIntire left a “large circle of friends” and “We record his death with sadness, for we knew him well,” which suggested that the editors of the *Democrat* enjoyed an even greater intimacy with McIntire than that claimed by the *Commercial*.²⁵

Just two days after McIntire’s death *The Indianapolis News* carried a brief announcement of his passing. The notice recounted his military service, reported that he was “dead of paralysis,” listed his education and medical practice, the 11 years as editor of the *Commercial*, and that he was “an examining surgeon on the pension board.”²⁶

All of these accounts, through word choice, framed McIntire as a well-educated and passionate yet amiable character, who endured hardship from his earliest days and who cared deeply for his city and did all he could to advance its interests. Among all the obituaries there was but one reference—“pungent paragraphs and caustic editorials”—to McIntire’s less-pleasant side when dealing with his political adversaries.²⁷ The preponderance of positive characterizations of McIntire in these biographical sketches

and obituaries illustrate what Huckin termed “conventional silences,” which he argued are typical in those genres and which exclude most negative references to the subject.²⁸

Considering McIntire’s private record in terms of subframes and master frames in the manner suggested by Reber and Berger, it appears that McIntire’s descriptive, ideology-free, writing style employed few if any master frames.²⁹ His diary references to politics, religion, women, and minorities offered limited details of his social interactions with those issues or individuals and little else. Those frames that he did treat often in his diary—the weather, health, family, farm, and business interests—had a thingness to them that fits well with the noun-like properties of frames as content.

In the *Commercial*, however, McIntire gave great salience to the political and social issues of his day. Between 1880 and 1882, the period from which the bulk of surviving issues stem, what follows in parentheses is the number of times these subframes were treated: characteristics of women, woman suffrage (19), fair and equal treatment of the races (27), teachers and education (18), building and financing the railroad (25), and local and national elections (13)—were treated at length in the Summer chapter of this study. Some of their attendant prescriptive or ideological master frames were explored in that chapter as well, in which cases they will be summarized here to illustrate how McIntire either articulated or implied those master frames in his newspaper.

Regarding women, McIntire employed contrasting master frames during his stint at the helm of the *Commercial*. By far his most prevalent perspective was that women possessed laudable qualities of character—articulated by Welter as piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity—which he argued were generally superior to those of men.³⁰ McIntire’s account of a train wreck between Mitchell and Bedford retold how the

women of both communities responded to help the injured and dying: “The ladies of our town did good service, no doubt the same may be said of the Bedford ladies, for good women are the same everywhere.”³¹ He was equally complimentary in October 1882 when he wrote, “By far the chief part of all the common sense there is in this world belongs unquestionably to women. The wisest things a man commonly does are those which his wife counsels him to do.”³²

In contrast, McIntire occasionally twitted his female readers for tendencies often attributed to them by their male counterparts. In early 1881 he quipped, “The difference between a woman and an umbrella, is that you can shut up an umbrella.”³³ And he reported in June 1881 that “some females have just been arrested in Kentucky for the manufacture of whisky. This is the first recorded instance of a woman keeping still.”³⁴ While consistent with McIntire’s tongue-in-cheek humor, such master frames were infrequent in McIntire’s paper when compared to those complimenting the qualities of women, which were much more prevalent.³⁵

McIntire was a staunch advocate of woman suffrage and ran columns of supporting material for the cause.³⁶ “We favor submitting the two amendments of our constitution to the people, one conferring the right of suffrage on women, and the other prohibiting the sale and manufacture of intoxicating liquors. Let the people be heard,” he wrote in 1882.³⁷ Temperance was another hot-button issue for McIntire, as these two quotes demonstrated: “As we have before remarked, the Republican Party is the best temperance society in the world,” and “You are a most detestable hypocrite if you pray for temperance and vote for free whisky.”³⁸

McIntire’s call for equal treatment of all races was also quite clear in his paper. Recall the articulate case for racial equality he made in the *Commercial*:

The only proper solution to the Indian question is to give no exclusive privileges to the Red men. Make the noble Indian an American citizen. Annul all reservation[s]. Give every man a right to a homestead. Make every man a voter, unless he be a criminal. Open the Indian Territory to settlement, admit it as a State. Give us a government strong enough to protect the weak. These just measures will settle the Indian question, the Negro question and the Chinese question. Our doctrine is: Protection to all, no exclusive privileges to any.³⁹

McIntire reported in 1881 that “36 Democrats voted against striking out the words ‘No negro [*sic*] or mulatto shall have the right of suffrage.’ They should move to the Confederate Cross Roads and join Nasby’s church.”⁴⁰ The mention of “Nasby” referred to preacher Petroleum V. Nasby, a fictional character created during the Civil War and elaborated thereafter by journalist David Ross Locke to lampoon the stereotypical, bigoted, often-drunk, unemployed, proslavery Southerner. Nasby lived in the fictional “Confedrit X road,” in the “State uv Kentucky.” Locke also gave speeches in the Nasby character to support temperance causes.⁴¹

McIntire adhered fairly consistently to the master frame of equal rights for and fair treatment of Blacks, and in his newspaper he used the vernacular terms “colored” or “Negro”—sometimes capitalized and sometimes not—in such references. In rare instances, however, he did also use more pejorative references to describe local citizens of color named in the *Commercial*: “Mr. Charles Reaburn got badly hurt yesterday by a negro [*sic*] boy throwing a stone at another darkey [*sic*] and hitting him on the head,” and “George Campbell, our Lawrence County ‘nigger,’ has been arrested for robbing a money drawer over in Bloomfield.”⁴² McIntire did not offer an explanation of his use of quotation marks for the moniker he attached to Campbell. He might have been trying to soften the characterization, distance himself from it, or perhaps it was a label by which the man was commonly known.⁴³ McIntire’s otherwise respectful characterizations in his

paper of his fellow citizens of color or his criticism of their harsh treatment suggest that this instance was the exception and not the rule.⁴⁴

In another news item McIntire reported the following in his paper: “The colored delegation that visited [President] Garfield didn’t urge the appointment of any particular person to office [and] did not even suggest the name of anyone for office. Could there be any more convincing proof of the inferiority of the colored race?”⁴⁵ This comment was part of a section called “The News,” which filled half of page four of the February 3, 1881, edition of the *Commercial* with a sampling of international, national, and statewide news items. Interestingly, between January 9 and February 9, 1881, five other Indiana newspapers—the *Greencastle County Banner*, *Danville (Hendricks County) Union*, *Martinsville Republican*, *Brazil (Clay County) Enterprise*, and *Newport Hoosier State*—printed verbatim the same text just quoted.⁴⁶ Also, the news content that preceded and followed the “colored race” item was also identical in each paper, which suggests that these news notes were boilerplate material that subscribing newspapers used in filling their pages with content. Given that the above comment is inconsistent with McIntire’s clearly stated stance on race suggests that he did not look closely at the preset material before publishing it in his paper.

One of McIntire’s most frequently employed master frames in the *Commercial* was regarding teachers and education. He championed the plight of teachers—his children among them—who suffered “insult and abuse from ruffians—male and female—who are not pleased with the teacher’s modes of discipline.”⁴⁷ McIntire opined further about their insufficient compensation: “Why is it that trustees invariably *retrench* by cutting the pay of teachers? The first ‘dig’ that is made after getting into office is at the school fund.”⁴⁸ He also frequently mentioned the building of the normal college in

Mitchell, and he called on the entire community to support it financially: “People who will not work for the best interest of a town in which they live had better move out. There is no man in Mitchel [*sic*] so poor but he can do something for the normal college.”⁴⁹

McIntire worked tirelessly to expand the railroad through his own business interests prior to his *Commercial* days. He continued that clarion call in his newspaper editorials, such as in these two examples: “We are in favor of more work and better wages, that is we favor the new railroad. We want cheaper fuel, cheaper coal for the poor, we want the new railroad,” and “Orleans township [a nearby town in a neighboring county] voted a two percent tax for the French Lick railroad. It is a stinging rebuke to our township, and shows the difference between the enterprise of Orange County farmers and ours.”⁵⁰ McIntire’s public commitment to the boosting of his community might have spawned this lament that other towns’ residents understood the need for better infrastructure than did the citizens of Mitchell.

McIntire not only couched the issue within the master frames of better wages and cheap coal if the tax were to pass, but he also framed it by how frequently he mentioned the tax and the benefits that would come therefrom. In the week prior to a referendum on the railroad tax in Mitchell, McIntire called for its passage in 16 separate entries in the section he reserved for one-liners on page three of the March 24, 1881, edition of the *Commercial*. The following week, after the tax was defeated, McIntire employed the master frame that corruption killed the tax through “the power of money and whisky in carrying elections,” and he alternately praised or criticized citizens by name for voting for or against the tax.⁵¹

The ballot box was a frequent theme in McIntire’s public and private records. As with other topics, he generally limited himself to descriptive subframes rather than

prescriptive master frames as he reported election results in his diaries. In the *Commercial*, McIntire was much more direct in his support for Republican candidates and causes and his disdain for the Democrats. Combining wit and wish, McIntire wrote in early 1881 about Thomas Cobb, Democratic congressman in Indiana's Second District, which included Lawrence County: "We have this little petition to send up to the Legislature: 'For God's sake, take us out of Tom Cobb's district.'"⁵² McIntire's plea fell on deaf ears, as Cobb was elected two more times, in 1882 and 1884, respectively.⁵³

McIntire kept up the anti-Democratic drumbeat with comments such as "The Democratic party is not a debt-paying party," and their members were "a sorry set of statesmen."⁵⁴ On the local front, McIntire was just as incisive about his partisan adversaries:

There is a rumor—from a Democratic source, and a democratic source isn't always reliable—that one of the Democratic candidates is on a big, big drunk, in Bedford today and that he got into a fight with another Democratic politician. That candidate has gone up. The people of Lawrence are not hankering after that kind of officer.⁵⁵

The implied master frames in the comments were that the Democratic Party did not offer up worthy candidates, did not encourage fiscal responsibility, did not personify honesty, and its members had no self-control.

The foregoing were just a few examples of how McIntire employed both sub- and master frames within both content and process dimensions of framing. Nominally, the *Commercial* was a Republican paper, and its political content would attract like-minded individuals. As noted previously in this dissertation, McIntire also appealed to citizens' sense of fairness with his stances on woman suffrage, race, and teacher pay. He would have also struck a chord with men and women—fellow boosters—who took pride in a growing, progressive town with his views on better jobs, schools, and transportation.

Creating content through a process of sub- and master frames demonstrated that McIntire understood framing from a tactical if not strategic standpoint.

The foregoing paragraphs have explored the content and process of frames and framing through themes, word choice, and sub- and master frames. All of these elements in the telling of McIntire's story, consistent with the foundational aspects of framing, have fostered a singular interpretation of him as a principled, resolute, patriotic, and passionate character. Applying the framing paradigm to McIntire's life in only those terms would certainly be an informative—albeit incomplete—exercise. Entman himself, one of the seminal scholars of framing, stated that “most frames are defined by what they omit as well as include, and the omissions . . . may be as critical as the inclusions.”⁵⁶ The following section discusses the textual silences that surfaced within the omissions—ideas, information, or emotions—from the framing “windows” as a result of where they were placed by McIntire and other writers, including this one, using the analogy that Zoch and Molleda described.⁵⁷

Placement of Frames and Textual Silences

Textual silences were unquestionably manifest in McIntire's private and public record, as well as in the writings of his peers and others who wrote about him. I argue that these silences are a function of writers' placement of their frames, or what was foregrounded in their writings, which placement relegated other matter to the background or left it completely unexplored. No doubt a separate work could consider an in-depth study of each of the types of textual silences that Huckin identified—topical, conventional, discreet, lexical, implicational, and presuppositional—that emerge in the corpus of McIntire's writings alone.⁵⁸ However, this section will first explore only a

sampling of silences from McIntire's record and the records of others who wrote about him in the diary, newspaper, biographical-sketch, obituary, and cultural-biography genres. Then the broader implications of silences in McIntire's record and how they interact with the silences in my retelling of McIntire's life will be discussed.

The most obvious textual silences in McIntire's record were the gaps in his surviving diaries on the days when he made no entries. Huckin's six types of textual silences do not necessarily address these hole-in-the-record silences because they each assume that there is a text in the first place. For the purposes of explanation, I will term the following examples *archival* silences, meaning that the record does not exist at all. McIntire's 1884 diary had but 45 entries, leaving 321 diary pages unfilled. He made no subsequent accounting for that extended silence, so we are left to wonder about its origin. Other years—1876, 1888, 1896, and 1897—also had dozens of empty entries, but there were plausible explanations, either given by McIntire himself or divined from his circumstances, for those blanks in his diaries.

In 1876 McIntire's entries ceased a few weeks after he had returned to the *Commercial* from the mail service. It is possible that he was simply too busy or exhausted to record each day's events as he worked to reestablish his newspaper. The diary silences during the other three years were most likely an indirect indication of his well-documented health issues, and he even wrote as much in 1897: "For nearly a year I have been unable to keep my diary written up, and am unable to do but little."⁵⁹ In these cases it was not so much that McIntire consciously excluded these undocumented days and months from his window frame; rather, he may have been physically unable to acquire the wood or use the tools to build the metaphorical frame in the first place.

As demonstrated by the “pungent paragraphs and caustic editorials” that appeared in the *Commercial*, McIntire was certainly capable of feeling and expressing strong emotion. Such expressions, however, were given little place in his diary. We have already considered the paucity of expressions of feeling generally in McIntire’s diary, as well as the specific, clinical characterization of his granddaughter Lorena’s death in 1896, where he noted her passing merely in passing and then in the same “breath” mentioned the state of his health and the arrival of his pension check.⁶⁰ By that time McIntire was well into his invalid years, and his precarious health and his dependence on analgesics and opiates point to significant levels of pain that he endured daily. That suffering might have strongly influenced where McIntire directed his viewfinder that day, which focused his greatest attention on his health and on meeting his financial obligations to the topical exclusion of nearly everything else, to include expressing emotion for Lorena’s loss.

In the *Commercial*, McIntire made no secret of his allegiance to the Republican Party generally and to its Radical wing particularly. He consistently placed his window frame to highlight the GOP as “the great party of right, freedom, justice, patriotism, union and honesty. Its record is more glorious and brilliant than any party that ever held the destinies of the nation,” he wrote in 1881.⁶¹ As chatty as McIntire was about the Republicans in his paper, he was correspondingly and topically silent when it came to the Democrats. The Democratic Party generally merited mention in the *Commercial* only in connection with some grievous offense such as “doing nothing with the ‘Mormon Question,’” in reference to not passing laws against polygamy, practiced in Utah at the time; not being “a debt-paying party; supporting “free whisky”; or for “not doing anything” about anything.⁶² The only positive reference to Democrats was the already-cited instance where McIntire endorsed Lewis Murray for Lawrence County highway

superintendent whose membership in the Democratic Party “is the only bad thing about him.”⁶³

This pattern of inclusion of the virtues of Republicanism, while excluding any possible pluses of the Democratic perspective, harks back to what Griffith observed about editor William Allen White: “The proprietor of the local newspaper wielded special powers. He determined which events and people were deemed ‘newsworthy.’”⁶⁴ McIntire used the power of his pen to downplay the Democrats’ newsworthiness in the *Commercial*, which apparently only extended to their failings and missteps; otherwise, he wrote little about them.

The word choices in McIntire’s biographical sketches and obituaries were covered previously in this chapter during the discussion of the process of framing. Writers refrained from overt criticism of McIntire’s politics or his strong public persona and used the space allotted to them to highlight his admirable character and contributions because that approach is what consumers of those genres would have expected. Modern writers made the same observation about James Boswell’s biography of Samuel Johnson, that Boswell failed to treat many of the intimate details of Johnson’s life, perhaps because such matters were not appropriate to divulge in that genre during that time period.⁶⁵ In other sections of this dissertation I have commented on what seemed to be *unconventional* silences in McIntire’s diary in that there were very few confessions of the soul in its pages and few expressions of anger, sadness, faith, or love. One would expect to find such sentiments in a diary, and I argue that their absence is most aptly described as *unconventional* silences. By this I mean that one would *not* expect to find such silences in a diary and yet they are there in abundance in McIntire’s private record.

There were a number of discreet silences in McIntire's diary. Certainly his silences about emotional and physical intimacy and the personal-hygiene embarrassments McIntire must have endured due to his chronic bowel trouble would qualify as such. It appears that McIntire also never referred to a married woman by her name—including his wife Margaret—in his diaries. As observed previously, whenever McIntire made a diary mention of a married woman's visit to his home, he never used her first name, as in the example of the Three Score Club celebration of McIntire's 60th birthday: "Wm. J. Humston, wife and daughter, Dr. Wm. A. Burton and wife, Mrs. James Richardson, Mrs. Chas. A. Barton and daughters, Mr. Geo. Miller and daughter Sadie were here, and we had a very pleasant and social time."⁶⁶ Only unmarried Sadie Miller was mentioned by her first name. Such silences could also be classified as conventional, as it might have been expected in that era that a married woman's first name not be used when speaking to or about her.

Another significant example of a discreet silence employed by McIntire was his unexpected dismissal from the U.S. Mail Service in 1876, which he had ample opportunity to lament in his diary. McIntire did record some effort on his part to get an explanation for his firing and to be restored to his post. However, he chose to give greater attention in his diary to his two options at the time: pursuing a venture in kaolin mining or returning to the *Commercial*. He ultimately chose the latter, and other than one reference to seeing someone in Bedford about "claims against the Cincinatti [*sic*] office" of the mail service, McIntire thereafter maintained complete and discreet silence in his diaries about being sacked.

Where McIntire placed his window frame in this mail-service setback appears to be indicative of his even-keel approach to recording the events of his life in his diary. In

keeping with the idea of lexical silences, he rarely used epithets in his private record, using the word “idiot” only once in all of his diaries in reference to a man who gave an unimpressive lecture on phrenology.⁶⁷ Of the four instances where “stupid” was his adjective of choice, all of them were in reference to himself, as in “Got my patient to bed pritty [*sic*] comfortably at [2:30] this morning and came home on foot and got to bed a little before four and slept till after six. Was sleepy and stupid all day.”⁶⁸ In an extremely rare example of breaking his lexical silence when it came to pejoratives, McIntire described in 1888 a visiting acquaintance named James Thompson as “insane” and “crazy as a loon,” who “talked me to death” and “bored me badly with his talk.”⁶⁹ McIntire’s penchant for generally keeping it positive does not mean that he was free from problems; he certainly struggled and suffered, but apparently he chose not to brood very often about such things in his diary.

On one level, the word choices of the writers of McIntire’s biographical sketches during his lifetime and obituaries immediately after his death could also constitute lexical silences. The use of flattering adjectives and generally positive characterizations—“useful citizen” and a “leading doctor” “with few superiors,” for example—demonstrate that the writers placed their frames where McIntire could be cast in the most favorable light and kept his less-desirable traits in the shadows.

When a communicator infers a message rather than communicating it directly, they are using what Huckin called implicational silences.⁷⁰ Some examples from McIntire’s writing contain implicational silences that are fairly innocuous. In 1882 McIntire complained that local law enforcement was not doing its job: “The COMMERCIAL will make it hot as—well, as hot as the tropical hereafter, for our town authorities if they do not employ a Marshal or policeman to keep down the rows in

town.”⁷¹ McIntire was apparently unwilling to use the word *hell* in his paper, perhaps another conventional silence at that time, so he used “tropical hereafter,” a euphemism for the postmortal warm place reserved for the wicked. In a related instance McIntire suggested a unique solution for lawlessness in nearby Spice Valley, the township just west of Mitchell:

Such a reign of terror exists in the north end of Spice Valley that peaceable citizens are becoming anxious to leave, and good farms are offered for sale at much less than their real value. The breaking of about fifty necks would make that excellent land valuable.⁷²

The implication here is that getting rid of a few tropical-hereafter-raising ruffians might again make Spice Valley a nice place to live. And the already-noted plea from McIntire to “get us out of Tom Cobb’s district” implied that the multiterm congressional Democrat was not representing the people to McIntire’s satisfaction.

A presuppositional silence is one that the writer takes for granted through the assumption that the information is known to the reader and therefore needs not be stated explicitly.⁷³ One such already-referenced silence that merits inclusion here is the lack of mentions of McIntire in second-in-command Lieutenant Colonel Carter Van Vleck’s letters to his wife Patty as he recounted to her the activities of his regiment, the 78th Illinois Infantry, during the Civil War. Van Vleck named McIntire, the regiment’s assistant surgeon, only twice, but Dr. Thomas Jordan, lead surgeon for the 78th, was mentioned 33 times in Van Vleck’s letters. Given Jordan’s antics and his seemingly high-maintenance wife Annie, both of which kept Jordan away from his duties more often than not, Van Vleck appeared to have no choice but to train his window frame in Jordan’s direction. Thus, Van Vleck’s backgrounding of McIntire as he simultaneously chronicled the unfolding drama of Dr. and Mrs. Jordan created a presuppositional silence that

assumed that McIntire was shouldering the primary-care load for the regiment because Van Vleck never communicated anything to the contrary. McIntire also used presuppositional silences often in his diary and his newspaper. One example was his many references to “the girls” or “the boys” in his diary, which meant that he was talking about the sons or daughters who were living at home at the time, and McIntire must have assumed that those acquainted with the family would know which children he meant.

Huckin, the coiner of the phrase *textual silences*, explained that

Textual silences are commonly used in benign ways, where there is no intent to deceive the reader. But they can also be used for deception, to hide important information from the reader without good cause, to the advantage of special interests.⁷⁴

If McIntire himself were to be asked about the silences in his record, he might have responded like the proverbial baseball umpire: “I call ’em as I see ’em,” meaning that in his mind there was no deception or manipulation intended in what he wrote in his diary and in his newspaper. However, two of his loudest silences—one topical (his backgrounding the Democratic viewpoint in his newspaper) and one presuppositional (the supporting role that wife Margaret in his personal and professional life), both of which have been touched on in this study—omit information that might have enriched the conversation with his newspaper readers and with himself in his diaries.

Huckin contended that topical silences “are the most rhetorically potent yet least detectable type of textual silence.”⁷⁵ The topical silence in question concerns McIntire’s political commentary in his newspaper. This theme has been discussed at length in these pages, so in summary, his passion for his party, while admirable on many levels, led to a one-sided portrayal of the Republican Party as the one-size-fits-all solution to the nation’s, Indiana’s, and Mitchell’s problems. Continuing the metaphor, the remedy that

McIntire appeared to employ was to shoehorn his ideology into his newspaper, where like-minded readers would agree with him, and he could trade salvos with his opponents in the pages of the *Commercial* and rival papers in Lawrence and surrounding counties. With the perspective that the passage of time offers, I argue that it would not be fair to categorically call McIntire's journalistic silence on most things Democratic as *deceptive* or even *manipulative*. Instead, he appeared to have honed the ability to *finesse* the opposite point of view through his editorial power to select which contrary points of view he reprinted in his paper, as well as his accompanying responses. Admittedly, there is no indication in his private diaries to suggest that this was McIntire's premeditated strategy, but at the very least this pattern of offering his adversaries space in his paper for their views gives the appearance that he was less topically silent on Democratic politics than he actually was.

As explained in the previous section, presuppositional silences often concern information that the writer takes for granted. In McIntire's case the most prominent presuppositional silence was the one he maintained in his diaries regarding his wife Margaret. She was mentioned the fewest number of times (85) out of his entire immediate family, except for his daughter Mary (64), and not once did McIntire refer to her by name. He did carefully record the few instances where Margaret traveled out of town without him, so it is likely that outside of those brief windows of time, his wife was the one at home serving as McIntire's primary caregiver during his invalid years, getting up at night to see to his needs, cooking his meals, cleaning up after him, and caring for him in extremely personal ways. Welter's notion of "true womanhood" also included the function "of woman in her role as nurse."⁷⁶ If Margaret's nursing was culturally assumed

and expected for or by an invalid husband, that could explain McIntire's silences in his diary about that aspect of their relationship.

The following examples from his diary demonstrate that McIntire had a rough time of it, and the unnamed wife was undoubtedly the one right there with him:

- April 24, 1895: I had a restless night, slept but little, kept my bed till after noon.
- January 4, 1896: The coldest morning of the winter, I sufered [*sic*] badly with cold last night, as I had to be up often.
- June 12, 1897: I suffered badly last night so I didn't sleep any.
- January 8, 1898: Charley waited on me last night . . . I slept right well.
- December 21, 1898: I had a good rest last night. Bowel trouble was better, kept my bed for three hours at one time.

The fact that McIntire mentioned in his January 8, 1898, entry that his son Charles was the one to wait on him suggests a deviation from the presupposed pattern that Margaret was the one who typically attended him at night.

Thirty-six times McIntire mentioned in his diaries during his invalid years that he was lonesome at home, meaning that he had no visitors that day, as in this example: "The day was very bright and pleasant, but we had no company and I was real lonesome."⁷⁷ In actuality, family members *were* there with him—in most cases, Margaret—on each of those occasions, as suggested by the admission that "we had no company." Interestingly, in the one instance when Margaret was injured in a farm incident, McIntire made sure to mention his role in helping her: "Mrs. M. got hurt by a cow working her over this morning and is right badly off. I went to town at nine and came back at one and remained at home all the remainder of the day, waiting on my wife."⁷⁸ No further mention was made of Margaret's mishap in McIntire's diary, however. In the end, McIntire never

broke that diary silence regarding when his wife was there to help him in his helplessness, but immediately upon his passing his obituary in the *Bedford Democrat* gave credit where it was long past due: “Had it not been for the careful nursing of his devoted wife and children, he would have died long ago.”⁷⁹

Regarding textual silences in general, they can often point to the writer’s intentionality or ideology or both. In McIntire’s case, it appears doubtful that he intentionally and willfully backgrounded his wife in his record. It may have been more a sin of omission that Margaret was a taken-for-granted part of his life, either in line with the emotion-free objectivity he tended to apply more to his diary than to his newspaper or to his reticence to discuss his dependence on her for nearly everything. However, the danger of that approach, warned Carolyn Kitch, in referring to journalism history specifically, but which has relevance here, is that “‘objective’ knowledge across disciplines has frequently left out women, women’s experiences, and women’s interests entirely.”⁸⁰ As elaborated in the narrative portion of this study, it could be argued that McIntire’s ideology in the *Commercial* was that women should be equal with men before the law and were their superiors in most other respects, but when it came to his own wife the evidence suggests that for a variety of reasons he made little place for her in his private record.

In summary, this Discussion chapter outlined the patterns and themes that emerged in McIntire’s private record; applied the typology of framing as a combination of content, process, and placement of frames to McIntire’s and his peers’ writings; explored the textual silences that emerged in those historical records; and considered how framing and textual silences informed the narrative in the seasonal chapters of this biography. The concluding chapter will address how framing and textual silences can be

used as analytical tools for historians and cultural biographers to provide a richer, more balanced retelling of the lives of their subjects.

Notes from Chapter 8

- ¹ *Mitchel Commercial*, January 19, 1882, 4.
- ² *Mitchel Commercial*, January 19, 1882, 4. McIntire cited the *Seymour (IN) Times* as the source of the “Too Much Talk” article, but he did not indicate in his paper which edition of the *Times* the article was taken from.
- ³ Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods*, 70.
- ⁴ See, for example, ESM, April 1, 1871; April 12, 1876; February 12, 1878; January 4, 1891; and January 17, 1898. Earl Henry McIntire and Lori Ann McIntire were the transcribers.
- ⁵ ESM, March 16, 1876.
- ⁶ Thomas R. Lindlof and Timothy P. Meyer, “Mediated Communication As Ways of Seeing, Acting, and Constructing Culture: The Tools and Foundations of Qualitative Research,” in *Natural Audiences: Qualitative Research of Media Uses and Effects*, ed. Thomas R. Lindlof (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing, 1987), 25.
- ⁷ McCombs, *Setting the Agenda*, 89.
- ⁸ Entman, *Projections of Power*, 27.
- ⁹ Reber and Berger, “Framing Analysis,” 185–194.
- ¹⁰ Zoch and Molleda, “Media Relations,” 281.
- ¹¹ Lindlof and Meyer, “Media Communication,” 25.
- ¹² Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale*, 9.
- ¹³ *Eminent and Self-made Men*, 1:24.
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ *History of Lawrence and Orange*, 297.
- ¹⁶ *History of Lawrence and Monroe*, 107.
- ¹⁷ Fort Wayne (IN) *Daily Gazette*, June 9, 1881, 4.
- ¹⁸ *Bedford-Mitchell Banner*, September 28, 1876, 2.
- ¹⁹ Stroud, *My Legacy*, 44.
- ²⁰ Ibid., 160.
- ²¹ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 11, 1899, 4.
- ²² For examples, see *Bloomington Telephone*, December 9, 1882, 1; and *Bedford Mail*, March 17, 1887, 4.
- ²³ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 11, 1899, 4.
- ²⁴ *Bedford Democrat*, May 12, 1899, 8.
- ²⁵ *Bedford Democrat*, May 12, 1899, 2, 8.
- ²⁶ *Indianapolis News*, May 9, 1899, 7.
- ²⁷ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 11, 1899, 4.
- ²⁸ Huckin, “On Textual Silences,” 422–423.
- ²⁹ Reber and Berger, “Framing Analysis,” 185–194.
- ³⁰ Welter, “True Womanhood,” 152.
- ³¹ *Mitchel Commercial*, June 15, 1882, 3.
- ³² *Mitchel Commercial*, October 26, 1882, 4.
- ³³ *Mitchel Commercial*, February 24, 1881, 3.
- ³⁴ *Mitchel Commercial*, June 9, 1881, 4.
- ³⁵ See, for example, *Mitchel Commercial*, January 27, 1881, 1; September 1, 1881, 4; and June 22, 1882, 4.

³⁶ See, for example, *Mitchel Commercial*, April 28, 1881, 2; February 16, 1882, 3; March 23, 1882, 2; and May 4, 1882, 2.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, June 1, 1882, 2.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, August 24, 1882, 2; October 12, 1882, 2.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, February 24, 1881, 2.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, March 17, 1881, 2.

⁴¹ W. David Sloan, *Perspectives on Mass Communication History* (Hillsdale, NJ: Routledge, 1991), accessed August 30, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=FWwAAgAAQBAJ>; David R. Locke, *Inflation at the Cross Roads, Being a History of the Rise and Fall of the Onlimited Trust and Confidence Company, of Confedrit X Roads* (New York: American News Company, 1875), 1, accessed January 18, 2017, <https://books.google.com/books?id=2UIqAAAAAYAAJ>.

⁴² *Mitchel Commercial*, November 17, 1881, 3; March 10, 1881, 2.

⁴³ Contemporary editors in Indiana appeared to treat the term “nigger” in a similar way as McIntire, by rendering it in quotes. For examples, see *The Fort Wayne Daily Gazette*, December 9, 1880, 2; *The Indianapolis Leader*, June 4, 1881, 4; and *Steuben (Angola) Republican*, January 5, 1881, 5. The article in the *Republican* used the term “darkey” (without quotes) and referred to a local character known as “Nigger Ben” (in quotes), which suggests that McIntire’s use of “nigger” (in quotes) and “darkey” (without quotes) was consistent with journalistic practice in that time and place.

⁴⁴ See, for example, *Mitchel Commercial*, January 20, 1881, 3; February 10, 1881, 3; March 3, 1881, 4; March 2, 1882, 4; June 22, 1882, 2; and September 21, 1882, 3.

⁴⁵ *Mitchel Commercial*, February 3, 1881, 4.

⁴⁶ *Greencastle County Banner*, January 9, 1881, 2; *Danville Hendricks County Union*, January 9, 1881, 2; *Martinsville Republican*, January 27, 1881, 2; *Newport Hoosier State*, February 2, 1881, 4; and *Brazil Clay County Enterprise*, February 9, 1881, 4.

⁴⁷ *Mitchel Commercial*, October 13, 1881, 2.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, January 5, 1882, 2; italics in the original.

⁴⁹ *Mitchel Commercial*, March 10, 1881, 2. See also *Mitchel Commercial*, February 17, 1881, 2; April 7, 1881, 3; August 11, 1881, 2; and April 6, 1882, 3, for additional references to the Normal College.

⁵⁰ *Mitchel Commercial*, February 17, 1881, 2; July 28, 1881, 2.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, March 31, 1881, 2–3.

⁵² *Ibid.*, January 16, 1881, 2.

⁵³ *A Biographical Congressional Directory: With an Outline History of the National Congress, 1774–1911* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913), 556, accessed October 27, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=yMrXx7tF6LkC&pg>.

⁵⁴ *Mitchel Commercial*, January 13, 1882, 2; January 19, 1882, 2.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, October 26, 1882, 2.

⁵⁶ Entman, “Fractured Paradigm,” 54.

⁵⁷ Zoch and Molleda, “Media Relations,” 281.

⁵⁸ Huckin, “On Textual Silences,” 421–429.

⁵⁹ ESM, March 31, 1897.

⁶⁰ ESM, May 10, 1896.

⁶¹ *Mitchel Commercial*, September 8, 1881, 2.

- ⁶² Ibid., September 28, 1882, 2; January 13, 1881, 2; July 27, 1882, 2; and March 16, 1882, 2.
- ⁶³ Ibid., August 31, 1882, 2; February 2, 1882, 2; March 9, 1882, 2.
- ⁶⁴ Griffith, *Home Town News*, 3–4.
- ⁶⁵ For examples, see Boswell, *Samuel Johnson*, 7, 25; Dowling, “Biographer,” 475–491.
- ⁶⁶ ESM, January 9, 1892.
- ⁶⁷ ESM, May 28, 1878.
- ⁶⁸ ESM, May 23, 1878. See also ESM, June 4, 1878; March 4, 1888; and March 30, 1898.
- ⁶⁹ ESM, May 6, July 15, and September 16, 1888.
- ⁷⁰ Huckin, “On Textual Silences,” 425–428.
- ⁷¹ *Mitchel Commercial*, May 25, 1882.
- ⁷² Ibid., January 8, 1881, 2.
- ⁷³ Huckin, “On Textual Silences,” 428–429.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid., 420.
- ⁷⁵ Huckin, “On Textual Silences,” 421.
- ⁷⁶ Welter, “True Womanhood,” 163.
- ⁷⁷ ESM, January 16, 1898.
- ⁷⁸ ESM, February 9, 1891.
- ⁷⁹ *Bedford Democrat*, May 12, 1899, 2.
- ⁸⁰ Carolyn Kitch, “Rethinking Objectivity in Journalism and History: What Can We Learn from Feminist Theory and Practice?” *American Journalism* 16, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 117.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

That which hath been is now; and that which is to be hath already been.

— *Ecclesiastes 3:15*

*1882: Man is the picture, his clothes the frame.
The frame is often worth more than the picture.¹*

1897: I put in my time to-day looking over old copies of the “Mitchell Commercial.”²

No man’s life can be encompassed in one telling. There is no way to give each year its allotted weight, to include each event, each person who helped to shape a lifetime. What can be done is to be faithful in spirit to the record and to try to find one’s way to the heart of the man.³

Despite his lifelong devotion to medicine, and forays into a variety of other business opportunities, a careful review of McIntire’s own diaries and life sketches written about him revealed that his professional life was primarily defined by the 11 years he spent as a journalist and newspaper editor. Like his contemporaries, Drs. Charles H. Ray, Ellet J. Waggoner, and Louis C. Roudanez, McIntire left full-time doctoring to become editor of a publication, and like Charles A. Hentz and Martha Ballard, he was a devoted diarist. However, in contrast to these other individuals, McIntire left both public *and* private records. The literature indicates no previous attempt to compare the themes that emerge in a 19th-century newspaper’s editorial content and those of the private diary

of its editor, who also continued to serve as a practicing physician, building blocks tailor made for engaging a cultural biography.

The purpose of this dissertation, then, was to get as close as possible to Elihu S. McIntire's lived experience through the crafting of his cultural biography and to use framing and textual silences as analytical tools to help tell that story. This study responded to the call for going beyond compiling an interesting sequence of events in McIntire's life and getting to the thought, feeling, and struggle that constituted his lived experience. This chapter draws conclusions and summarizes how McIntire's story adds to the body of communication knowledge in terms of the following: 1) applying James Carey's definition of a cultural history of journalism and his model of transmission and ritual, rendering a meaningful description of the existential conditions of working journalists as Hanno Hardt enjoined; 2) considering Ann Fabian's observation that the process of communication is the process of community, and; 3) William Allen White's argument—as articulated by biographer Sally Foreman Griffith—that the small-town newspaper was the agent of that process in 19th-century America.⁴ This chapter concludes by defining what today's journalism-history scholars can learn from McIntire's story itself; showing how framing and textual silences can enhance the methodological approach of historiography generally and cultural biography specifically; and identifying further areas of research.

Answering Carey's and Hardt's Call

In his 1974 article, "The Problem with Journalism History," James Carey observed the following:

Most people make love and war, have children and die, are educated and work, constrained by the physical limits of biology, nature, and technology. But for us to understand these events we must penetrate mere appearance to the structure of imagination that gives them their significance.⁵

This biography of Dr. Elihu S. McIntire covered each of these elements in considering his roles as a husband and father, soldier, medical student and practitioner, entrepreneur, sufferer and invalid, farmer, and journalist. But it also probed deeply into how he and others framed him in their writings and their corresponding textual silences to reveal his politics, views on social justice and community, family, avocations, personal and professional setbacks, and even death. These elements go far beyond tracing the events that filled the gap between McIntire's birth and death dates; instead, they offer a glimpse into what they might have meant to him and how it felt "to live and act" in his time and place.⁶

Also considered in these pages was the transmission and ritual model of communication as advanced by Carey. Transmission gives primacy to the content of the message and the control that it exerts over the recipients thereof. The ritual view of communication, in contrast, gives attention to the process that surrounds the transmission of the message and considers its context and the impact it has on those who send or receive it. Carey wrote in 1989 that "news is not information but drama. It does not describe the world but portrays an arena of dramatic forces and action; it exists solely in historical time; and it invites our participation."⁷ The act of participation, according to Carey, is one of "sharing," "association," and "fellowship."⁸

Carey's notions of ritual and transmission were operationalized on a number of levels within this dissertation. First, McIntire's life was presented in four

chapters that corresponded to the ritual of the spring, summer, fall, and winter seasons. The reader, based on their own experiences with the seasonal cycle would be hard-pressed not to feel some sense of fellowship—the very essence of ritual, according to Carey—with McIntire as he navigated his own seasonal shoals and deeps. Other rituals that emerged in this retelling included McIntire’s diary writing, the weekly production of his newspaper, the gradual decline of his health, and even his departures from and his returns to the practice of medicine as he constantly looked for new and better ways to support himself and his family. The episodic instances unique to McIntire’s existence—farm life, medical school, military service, business ventures, journalism, and illness—represented the transmission aspect in how these singular experiences shaped him as an individual.

In keeping with Hardt’s admonition to produce meaningful retellings of the existential conditions of journalists, this dissertation not only offered thick description of the struggle it was for McIntire during his newspaper years to publish the *Commercial* each week, but it also chronicled similar travails in obtaining his education, establishing his medical practice, pursuing other professional opportunities, and experiencing health reverses and the deaths of his loved ones. This study has shown how the ebb and flow of McIntire’s existence had a sculpting and shaping effect on how he reported the news in his paper and even how he decided what *was* and *was not* news, such as his treatment of farm life, death, woman suffrage, racism, improvements to infrastructure, the South, and the virtues of Radicalism, and the vices of the Democratic party in the late 19th century. It has also demonstrated how his practice of journalism seasoned his last years through his appetite for news, continued interest in politics, and how his professional

relationships with other editors likely affected how he and his family were portrayed in the local press.

The Process of Community: Fabian and Griffith

Fabian's argument that the process of community emerges in the process of communication was personified in weekly newspapers of the 1800s such as the *Commercial*. Recall that Frederic Hudson stated that in 1870 it was country weeklies—with nearly 10.6 million readers, and not metropolitan dailies, with a circulation of only 2.6 million—that boasted the highest readership during the period when McIntire began publishing his paper.⁹ By sheer numbers, then, local weeklies at the time painted a more comprehensive picture of what it was like in 19th-century America than the papers in the big cities of the East and Midwest.

Griffith used her biography of William Allen White, longtime editor of *The Emporia (KN) Gazette*, as “a window or . . . prism to observe the communication process [in the community] as a complex interaction among communicator, audience, and medium, involving many different facets, including the psychological, social, cultural, economic, technological, and political.”¹⁰ A similar approach was taken in this cultural biography of McIntire as each of these elements has been treated in these pages, to include how his life experiences informed his journalism and how his editorial endeavors helped shape his autumn period. Admittedly, McIntire's newspaper years occupied but one-sixth of his lifetime, but it was in his role as communicator—as editor of the *Commercial*—where he arguably made his greatest mark in his community and how he was—and is—most readily remembered.

McIntire never disclosed explicitly in his diary the reasons for his decision to leave his full-time medical practice to purchase and edit the *Commercial*, but it can be reasonably concluded that in the long run it was not for the money. As he observed in the *Commercial* on December 1, 1881, “We have been running the COMMERCIAL for a long time because we had to, it was for bread and meat for our children. Now we intend to print it because [we] don’t have to. It will be red-hot, you bet.”¹¹ Calling his paper “red-hot” implied a passion for publication that went far beyond plying a trade to feed one’s family; rather, it makes sense that McIntire would leave behind his satchel and stethoscope to pursue “by hook and crook” what he felt was his calling.

In addition to being his main source of income during his newspaper years, the *Commercial* provided a means for McIntire to influence society in a way that his diary could not accomplish. His editorials and selection of articles suggested an advocacy for women: their right to vote, as well as his observations that women possessed greater kindness, common sense, and ability to manage money better than men.¹² McIntire’s bringing his daughter Mary into the printing office was not unheard of at the time, but using her alongside her brother Henry suggests that McIntire did not value her help any less than that of his son.¹³ In his paper McIntire called for just and equitable treatment of Blacks, whether it was complimenting their hard work on the railroad, calling for a new school, or condemning lynch-mob activities. As indicated in his diary, such views were not just for show; he did business with the “colored” community, completing print jobs for churches and fraternal organizations, and he attended a baptism for persons of color, one of the few times he attended a Sunday service at all, according to his 1878 diary.

As for politics, McIntire's pronouncements in the *Commercial* might have been highly partisan, but they were also prescient. In 1881 he predicted challenges that would plague the Republican Party in presidential elections for the next hundred years. The context was his criticism of controversial appointments by President James A. Garfield that led to the resignation of powerful Republican Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York, with whom McIntire sympathized. He lamented in the *Commercial* the current state of affairs of the party: "No act save *war* alone can re-elect a Republican president."¹⁴ With this simple statement McIntire correctly foresaw Republican William McKinley's re-election in 1900, following the Spanish-American War of 1898, which occurred during McKinley's first term. Fifty-six years later, the next Republican to be re-elected president was Dwight Eisenhower, who saw the end of the Korean War in his first year in office. Richard Nixon followed the same pattern in 1972, winning re-election as the Vietnam War was winding down. It was not until Ronald Reagan's re-election in 1984 that a Republican president did not preside over protracted U.S. military action in his first term before being reelected.¹⁵ Could McIntire's prediction have been a lucky guess? Certainly. Publications and persons quoted therein make predictions all the time, and on rare occasions they are accurate.¹⁶ However, aside from being correct, the significance of his prediction lay in McIntire's understanding of the *national* community and its politics and that war was—and is—a determining factor in whom the American people place their trust and reelect to be their leaders.

While newspapers certainly have their role as part of the first rough draft of history, personal narratives such as McIntire's are equally critical to understanding history because, as Fabian contended, they "offer a popular version of the American past—a key to both our myths about ourselves . . . and to our national literature."¹⁷

McIntire's diary revealed a private citizen who was vastly different from the eminent-editor persona, posthumously dispelling myths and assumptions about McIntire himself that might have persisted in those who had access only to his public writings.¹⁸

Complementing the newspaper as an instrument for social change, McIntire's diary captured the daily struggle it was to write, print, distribute, and finance a newspaper. These were the days long before professionalization of journalists, and he, like many others, relied on his natural or acquired gifts for writing, personal grit, and a bit of luck to publish each week. He could rightly say that his paper was for the people because his struggles were much like theirs: working to make a living, providing for a family, and dealing with the uncertainty of the times.

White's editorial influence in Emporia, Kansas, as described by Griffith, can be applied to McIntire to gauge the impact of the *Commercial* as an agent of community. "The small-town paper embodies some attractive qualities—appreciation for the simple pleasures of life, celebration of the common man or woman, and understanding of the deep human needs for belonging and recognition."¹⁹ McIntire accomplished this by publicizing local birthdays, deaths, weddings, graduations, picnics, holiday observances, crimes and accidents, illnesses, floods, results of local elections, visitors to Mitchell, among other occurrences.²⁰ As Griffith observed, all of these combined to bolster the sense of fellowship that was felt among citizens:

Such human-interest news emphasizes the universality of human experience rather than social distinctions, its continuities rather than its disruptions. In their sheer everydayness and repetitiveness, locals replicate and reinforce the persistent face-to-face contact that is generally considered a basic condition of community. Similarly, as cultural historians have become aware, significant life-cycle events such as weddings and funerals serve communal as well as personal functions. Public participation in such events in some ritualized fashion has been a crucial means of creating and reinforcing communal ties.²¹

Weekly papers such as the *Commercial*, by publishing these “life-cycle events,” created communities through the common experiences that their citizens shared through the “fellowship” that Carey described and the boosterism that McIntire practiced.²²

In McIntire’s case, his newspaper and diary records—one public and the other personal—when brought together provided a much richer picture of his life as an editor, business owner, physician, citizen, and family man. Each account offered compelling insights not only into his own life, but also into his influence on the community, responding to Carey’s injunctions to go beyond compiling a compelling string of events and get to the thought, feeling, and struggle that constituted McIntire’s life. The 40 carriages in McIntire’s funeral procession in a town of more than 1,400 residents was a tribute to him not because of his role in the “process of communication” in Mitchell, Indiana, but rather, as Fabian theorized, because he embodied a “process of community,” of which he was an undeniable part.²³

Framing and Textual Silences in This Narrative

The Discussion chapter considered the ways framing and textual silences manifested themselves in McIntire’s record and in the writings of his contemporaries. Several conclusions can be drawn as to how the two emerged in the narrative portion of this study and how they might be employed together conceptually as analytical tools for other historians or cultural biographers.

Harking back to Entman’s basic definition of framing, it “essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text.”²⁴ In keeping with the framing typology constructed in the Review of Literature and Discussion chapters, I first outlined how

McIntire was framed through content, process, and placement of frames to make certain aspects of his life more salient in this study. The *content* of McIntire's life narrative represented what one might find within the ritual of the typical biography: recounting the parentage of the subject, birth, formative years, education, applicable military service and/or professional career, family life, death, and legacy. These themes formed the backbone of this account, and I explored each of these in detail.

As McIntire showed significant interest throughout his life in the weather and the seasons of the year, the *process* I employed to frame him was to liken the four chapters of the biography portion of this study to the rituals of winter, spring, summer, and fall, as well as the three-month periods that corresponded to each season. Considering McIntire's preoccupation as both diarist and journalist with the seasons and his meticulous attention to the regimenting properties of time, the first verse of Ecclesiastes 3 in the Old Testament—"To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven"—provided the ideal frame with which to open the introductory chapter. I maintained the time-and-season theme for each subsequent chapter, framing the content by selecting relevant verses from the same chapter in Ecclesiastes: "A time to be born, and a time to die . . . a time to weep, and a time to laugh," for example. Other season-based comments from his newspaper or diaries offered additional seasoning that helped to place the corresponding chapter in context.

The *placement* of my frames, returning to Zoch and Molleda's analogy, in considering McIntire's life was driven in large measure by the elements of cultural biographies elaborated in the Literature Review of this study. Recall Bushman's approach in writing his history of Mormon founder Joseph Smith:

What I can do is look frankly at all sides of [my subject], facing up to his mistakes and flaws. Covering up errors makes no sense in any case. Most readers do not believe in, nor are they interested in, perfection. Flawless characters are neither attractive nor useful. We want to meet a real person.²⁵

This admonition guided me to direct my focus throughout the narrative on McIntire's strong points: his tenacity, the ability to mobilize and lead others toward common goals, the championing of diversity and equal opportunity, a positive attitude, and his passion for what he believed was right. It also inspired me to consider those less-flattering areas that show McIntire as a "real person" who might have handled things differently, such as being more self-reflective in his diaries; expressing his feelings more tenderly for his wife, children, and grandchildren and acknowledging their support more explicitly; tempering his tone in his newspaper to promote more civic and civil dialogue; and finding alternative ways to cope with the pain and sadness that came with his invalidity instead of turning to over-the-counter medications and opiates, which might have contributed to his emotional silences regarding his family and the suffering of others. Portraying McIntire's good and not-so-good traits formed the overarching framework for this biography, and the following aspects of the other previously mentioned epics also contributed greatly to the shape of this narrative.

For example, Ulrich's approach with Martha Ballard's history was to give Martha a voice to tell her story on her terms. I attempted to do the same with McIntire by quoting liberally from his diaries and personal papers, his newspaper, and other sources to allow the historical evidence to speak for itself as much as possible. Bate's chronicling of Samuel Johnson's many struggles to succeed provided a model for me to capture the battles McIntire fought to become educated, provide for his family, build his community,

make something of his life, cope with the infirmities and obstacles that life presented to him, and leave something of a legacy for his descendants.

Mangun, with her story of Oregon civil-rights activist Beatrice Morrow Cannady, demonstrated that a compelling narrative can be crafted despite gaps in personal and public records of the historical character in question. For the 28-year span between McIntire's oldest surviving diary and the year of his death (1871 to 1899), less than half of those years—13—produced a personal record that endures today. Of the more-than-500 issues of the *Commercial* that McIntire published, the 104 that were accessible to me filled in certain gaps in his story, as did copies of other newspapers from the period, biographical sketches, a book-length history of the 78th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment, and other historical records. I also followed Griffith's and Carey's example of placing editor William Allen White in his time and attempting to capture the "structure of feeling" that was prevalent by including historical details that contextualized McIntire's ancestry and birth, his family's move to Indiana, his education and military service, his newspaper career and political activities, and his farm life and invalid years.²⁶

The approaches of these five biographies provided me the initial locations of frame placement through which this study examined the historical records that became the primary sources for this study. Within those vistas I selected the elements that seemed most representative of McIntire's experience and which portrayed the many dimensions of his character, admirable and otherwise. During that process I made the difficult decision to exclude, downplay or simply give less attention to certain occurrences or patterns in McIntire's life. These textual silences are what I identify and outline in the next few paragraphs.

The most obvious textual silences in McIntire's public and private records were what I previously referred to as archival silences, meaning those gaps in extant sources. In the case of his newspaper, they represent the issues of the *Commercial* between July 1872 and May 1883 that did not survive to the present. In McIntire's diary, the archival silences are the blank pages within his existing diaries where no entry was made, as well as other years where he might have kept a private record that as yet has not come to light.

However, the historical evidence that did survive in the form of 3,007 diary entries and more than 100 issues of the *Commercial* offered more information than could be coherently presented in the pages of this study. From a methodological perspective, the most fundamental instances of textual silences in this dissertation were the clarifications offered in the endnotes. It is common practice in historiography to offer additional material in appendices, footnotes, or endnotes, which if left in the narrative might interrupt or detract from it. Some examples in this study included Appendix A, which detailed McIntire's ancestry and cultural roots, and endnotes about how I came to be in possession of McIntire's diaries, definitions of *hoop poles* and *tramp printers*, and the average life expectancy in the late 19th century in the United States. The casual reader might gloss over these and other footnoted references, which then would become textual silences for them because the background information was not immediately accessible in the narrative.

Huckin found that "language conveys meaning not only through the words and images on the page (or screen) but also through their very absence."²⁷ Some of the silences in McIntire's diary and the biographical sketches written about him at the time actually played a role in what I chose to *foreground* in this biography. As I reviewed his private record and the three life summaries printed in histories of Lawrence County

during that period, I was struck by the absence of acknowledgement that was given to his wife Margaret's role in McIntire's life and successes. The sketches gave a perfunctory place to Margaret as his wife and the mother of his children, but her existence ended there. In McIntire's diaries, he did not do much better by her, giving Margaret few column inches of attention. Thus, in the narrative and in the Discussion chapter I tried to bring out Margaret's role by first recognizing that silence in McIntire's record and then by casting light on what emerged as her real and meaningful contributions.

Similarly, early drafts of this dissertation felt incomplete until I included material [Appendix B] that described what life might have been like for McIntire's mother Isabel as she labored alongside her husband Charles to make their home on the western slopes of the Appalachians between 1820 and 1839. Recall that Carey called for a type of history that shows the "way in which men in the past have grasped reality."²⁸ If Carey had written those words today instead of in 1974, he would probably have added "and women" to that statement. Much of McIntire's early life was certainly spent with his mother, and failing to consider her experiences and struggles while rearing him and his siblings would actually be minimizing the way in which McIntire first "grasped reality" at his mother's knee. Corroborating that maternal influence was McIntire's publishing Isabel's obituary in the *Commercial* after she passed away in 1881. More typical of his diary-writing style, McIntire expressed little emotion in summarizing his mother's life in his paper, but he did praise her religious zeal and observed that "her mental faculties remained bright till her last hour."²⁹ As for McIntire's daughters, to the extent possible I also tried to give them equal time in these pages, despite his mentioning them less frequently than his sons in his diaries.

Several themes in McIntire's life were touched on but not explored in great detail in this study—the number of diary mentions listed in parentheses—such as his involvement in with the Masons (72) and the Grand Army of the Republic (9); his interest in geology (30) and the local horticulture society (9). McIntire also kept somewhat-detailed financial records in his diary, and I included incidental references to them but did not give them specific attention as a whole. Lawrence County land records indicated that McIntire bought and sold a number of properties in Mitchell and nearby Huron, Indiana, but I focused only on the handful of lots he owned in town and the farm east of Mitchell.³⁰

Regarding his paper, McIntire used the *Commercial* to promote Mitchell as a family-, business-, and education-friendly town, and he repeatedly called for additional rail lines to give the town greater access to commerce and to provide cheaper coal and better wages for workers.³¹ Even biographical sketches observed how hard McIntire worked to further the interests of Mitchell, and coupled with his efforts as an editor to do so, McIntire represents a classic case of the boosterism that was common during the 19th century in the United States. I noted several instances herein of how McIntire boosted his community, and a subsequent study could devote more and specific attention to this aspect of McIntire's journalism, which could add to the already-rich corpus of research on this topic.³²

The foregoing highlights a few examples of the textual silences present in the retelling of McIntire's life, as well as my efforts to counteract what I have judged to be some omissions in his own record regarding the women in his life. Concerning McIntire's public and private accounts, I acknowledge that I have been essentially silent on some concepts closely related to textual silences; namely, intertextuality, interdiscursivity,

metaphor, and abstraction. A subsequent study could certainly explore in greater depth the presence and application of these in McIntire's writings.

Framing and Textual Silences in Historiography and Cultural Biography

The framing paradigm can be likened to a stand of aspen in that a tree dozens of acres distant from another can share the very same root system.³³ Framing touches a number of fields and disciplines to include psychology, economics, and communication subdisciplines such as speech communication, organizational communication, health communication, political communication, public relations, journalism, and media studies.³⁴ Framing, with its plethora of definitions and applications, as defined herein is essentially the selection of some piece of information in a text, while at the same time other information is omitted. As an example, our eyes permit us to see what is right in front of us and perhaps a few things on our periphery. This anatomical limitation naturally creates a frame that at the same time excludes whatever is outside our field of vision at any given moment.

From a discursive perspective, omissions can occur with information inadvertently left out or deliberately excluded, both of which constitute textual silences. Such silences, when analyzed and contextualized, can uncover meanings in what is not said and identify possible motives behind the omission, whether harmless or manipulative. The study of textual silences, with origins in the rhetorical tradition, has also found application in discourse analysis, cultural studies, sociology, and other fields. Despite being so closely related conceptually, my literature review uncovered only one study, by Huckin, that linked framing and textual silences.³⁵ I cannot state with certainty

why these two constructs have not been more widely considered as two sides of the same coin, but it is certainly my responsibility as a scholar to make that recommendation in keeping with Entman's injunction: "We should identify our mission as bringing together insights and theories that would otherwise remain scattered in other disciplines."³⁶

To take that responsibility one step further, not only do I argue that framing and textual silences do not exist independently of each other and that they should be studied and applied in tandem, but I also contend that historiography can benefit from their thoughtful and deliberate application—together—as analytical tools as I have done here. Admittedly, many historians are averse to applying theory to their work because of the fear that it will bias or at the very least impede the telling of the story.³⁷ And if that reticence is to avoid clouding the historian's conclusions based on the evidence, then it is well-founded. However, there can be a methodological benefit to the use of theory in historiography, which is what my use of framing and textual silences was intended to do. Throughout the research and writing process these two tools informed this narrative by reminding me to constantly consider how the historical evidence framed McIntire and to ask myself what those frames had left out. As I identified the omissions in McIntire's record regarding his wife, mother, and daughters, for example, I took steps to either include more information from other sources or at the very least to point out the silences and offer possible explanations for them. Two examples of these steps are the Kansas-based newspaper that documented Ella's extended absence from Mitchell or the letters edited by Emily Foster and Andrea Warren from women who lived and described much of what Isabel McIntire might have experienced in rural Ohio [see Appendix B].

From a cultural-biography standpoint, framing guided me to train my viewfinder on the kinds of things Carey suggested for cultural histories: capturing

the “constellation of attitudes, emotions, motives, and expectations” in McIntire’s time period and personal circumstances, showing how action “made sense” from his standpoint, and not being “concerned merely with events but the thought within them.”³⁸ Other frames I placed in the narrative stemmed from the examples cited in the Literature Review section of this dissertation to include showing both sides of McIntire’s personality and character, telling the story on his terms, showing how he struggled in different ways, and offering historical context to best understand his actions in his time and place. Considering the silences in the record of and about the subject, some textual silences in the annals of the period revealed a diminished place for women in how history was written. This omission, as noted previously, drove me to dig more deeply into the literature to find experiences that paralleled those of the McIntire women in order to mitigate those silences.

To my knowledge, the conceptual combination of framing and textual silences has not been considered in previous studies, nor have the two been employed together as tools for conceptualizing historical or cultural-biography research. Given the singularity of McIntire’s life, as well as the rare combination of published newspapers and personal diaries as the respective public and private records of the subject, bringing the seemingly unrelated constructs of framing and textual silences might not make sense to the casual observer. However, as Lindlof and Meyer suggested, “Unique phenomena demand the development of methods and theory unique to those phenomena. . . Borrow what is insightful, but use it to develop new methods and theories that do justice to the unique phenomena at hand.”³⁹ One of the aims of this study is that this glimpse into McIntire’s life and this idiomatic approach to it have done justice to his uniqueness and to the time-tested historiographical process of evidence, interpretation, and narrative.

Contributions, Limitations, Future Research

John Durham Peters wrote, “Potential communication about an event is never complete. There is always something more to say; a record, by definition, is never finished.”⁴⁰ Here I summarize this study’s contribution to the historical record and the body of knowledge, and then I address its limitations and further needs, within which much of that unfinished business lies.

This cultural biography of Dr. Elihu S. McIntire revealed a figure of stature and influence in journalistic, political, medical, social, and educational circles in late 19th-century Lawrence County, Indiana. McIntire’s humble beginnings, his lifelong struggle to serve his community, and his persistence in the face of numerous health problems and professional setbacks comprised a compelling narrative. The evidence demonstrated that McIntire *did* lead a singular, driven existence, and his full story was one that was worth telling.

Once McIntire’s story emerged within the Winter, Spring, Summer, and Fall chapters of this dissertation—and it was important for objectivity reasons that this portion of the study be completed first—an ancillary purpose of this work was to employ both framing and textual silences to analyze and offer explanations of McIntire’s narrative. This study demonstrated that these two conceptual and analytical tools *can* assist historians and cultural biographers to tell richer and more balanced stories based on the evidence, but I have also supported the claim that framing and textual silences do not exist without the other and can be more effective when used in tandem for studying discourse.

This study also attempted to operationalize what Carey suggested in 1974, that cultural histories should “get hold of . . . this felt sense of the quality of life at a particular

time and place.”⁴¹ This was accomplished by applying lessons learned from the five cultural biographies by Bushman, Ulrich, Bate, Mangun, and White. Trying to show both sides of McIntire, telling his story on *his* terms, giving attention to his struggles with others and within himself, using the historical evidence available, and placing McIntire in his historical context have made it possible for me to “find [my] way to the heart of the man.”⁴²

Similar to the relationship between framing and textual silences, where they each inform the other, the limitations of this study and opportunities they create for future research also go hand in hand. McIntire seemed adept at cultivating a generally positive public image of himself, based on the many favorable characterizations of him in the biographical sketches and newspaper accounts about him during his later years. Two aspects of this phenomenon merit further study, the first being the relationship of his public and private identities. Griffith, in her biography of editor William Allen White, observed that “in describing White’s life, it is misleading to make sharp distinctions between the public and the private man, for his sense of self was indistinguishable from his actions and his standing in the eyes of others.”⁴³ I did not look specifically at those aspects of McIntire’s life, but additional research could consider this dynamic through the lens of his diaries and his writings in the *Commercial*. Further study could also explore how the modern concept of personal branding might be applied to McIntire’s persona to see if he intuitively applied then what researchers in the field today suggest for promoting successful images in public figures. Lastly, more attention could be devoted to the connection between framing and textual silences that I uncovered in this study. There may be other limitations or further opportunities to expand on what I started

here, and I hope these will reveal themselves or be suggested by colleagues over time.

In keeping with the responsibility that rests on historians to offer their readers a bridge to the past, I plan to share my research with both general and academic audiences. I will provide a version of this dissertation—either in its entirety or in edited form—to the Lawrence County (IN) Museum of History, where I obtained assistance and found a number of resources for this project. My immediate and extended families have expressed great interest in this history, and they will also receive copies in order to learn about one of their progenitors. I plan to also submit portions of this research to scholarly journals to share what I have learned about the cultural history of journalism, framing and textual silences, boosterism, and historiography. I am also intrigued by the opportunity to share McIntire’s story in the digital space through existing projects such as Doing Digital History at the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media at George Mason University. I will also follow through on ideas that have come to me about how social media might be employed to share McIntire’s story and help others discover the joys of historiography.

This journey of discovery began with my exposure to Elihu S. McIntire’s diaries as a 12-year-old boy. I came to see his private side as I read, transcribed, and studied his handwritten words. Other dimensions of his character—such as his passion for politics, making his town a better place to live, and seeing the human side of Mitchell, Indiana—became clearer to me as I explored the 100-plus surviving issues of the *Commercial* from the years 1873, 1876, and 1880–1882.

To make it easier to examine those editions of McIntire's paper, I printed them on 11-by-17-inch sheets and pored over them with a magnifying glass. In my study I knew I would find interesting anecdotes about life in Mitchell, but what I did not expect was to discover how tightly connected the town of Mitchell was to its weekly newspaper. I return to the words of William Allen White, a country editor for five decades in Kansas, who articulated what the weekly did and meant for Middle America in McIntire's time and place:

When the girl at the glove-counter marries the boy in the wholesale house, the news of their wedding is good for a forty-line wedding-notice, and the forty lines in the country paper give them self-respect. When in due course we know that their baby is a twelve-pounder, named Grover or Theodore or Woodrow, we have that neighborly feeling that breeds the real democracy. When we read of death in that home we can mourn with them that mourn. When we see them moving upward in the world, into a firm, and out toward the country club neighborhood, we rejoice with them that rejoice.

[And] when you . . . by chance pick up the little country newspaper with its meager telegraph service of three or four thousand words . . . when you see its array of countryside items; its interminable local stories; its tiresome editorials on the waterworks, the schools, the street railroad, the crops, and the city printing, don't throw down the contemptible little rag with the verdict that there is nothing in it. But know this, and know it well: if you could take the clay from your eyes and read the little paper as it is written, you would find all of God's beautiful sorrowing, struggling, aspiring world in it, and what you saw would make you touch the little paper with reverent hands.⁴⁴

I now touch those hard-copy editions of the *Commercial* with more "reverent hands" not only because of what they mean to me personally, but also because of what they did for a town that needed an advocate like Dr. Elihu S. McIntire.

The newspaper of today is not what it once was. Technology has made it so fewer and fewer paper copies of dailies and weeklies reach the hands of readers, thus making it more difficult for them to share the same tactile, multisensory experience that subscribers enjoyed in McIntire's time. Questions about the

accuracy of reporting and the objectivity of journalists dominate the spirited conversation today as much as it they ever did. In many ways the life of a laptop-toting, Twitter-using journalist would be incomprehensible to someone like McIntire, but his bygone baptism in the world of words is something that he does share with his modern-day counterparts, “for he knew of the trials that beset the pathway of the newspaperman.”⁴⁵ McIntire’s story not only offers the “sunshine and shadow” of his own life, but it also invites the reader to consider “fresh perspectives and new interpretations” on the “structure of feeling” that is the “cultural act” of journalism.⁴⁶

Notes from Chapter 9

¹ *Mitchel Commercial*, February 16, 1882, 2.

² ESM, June 26, 1897.

³ *Gandhi*, directed by Richard Attenborough (1982; Burbank, CA: Columbia TriStar Home Entertainment, 2003), DVD, italics added.

⁴ Carey, "Journalism History," 3–5, 27; Hardt, "Foreign-Language Press," 127; Fabian, *Unvarnished Truth*, 5; Griffith, *Home Town News*, 159.

⁵ Carey, "Journalism History," 4.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Carey, "A Cultural Approach," 21.

⁸ Ibid., 18.

⁹ Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, 772.

¹⁰ Griffith, *Home Town News*, 5.

¹¹ *Mitchel Commercial*, December 1, 1881, 2.

¹² This question may be another opportunity for further research to determine more conclusively if McIntire's public stance on women's issues was as progressive as I imply here.

¹³ See Rebecca Warren Davidson, *Unseen Hands: Women Printers, Binders, and Book Designers* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

¹⁴ *Mitchel Commercial*, June 16, 1881, 2. Emphasis in the original.

¹⁵ McIntire also showed that he could foreshadow a well-known refrain of popular American culture. Aficionados of the 1960s TV series *Star Trek* credit Mr. Spock with coining a well-known phrase, which was always accompanied by the parted-fingers Vulcan salute. However, predating Spock by more than eight decades, McIntire could take rightful credit for the tagline, which he included in a birthday wish in the *Commercial* for twin brothers Eli and Isom Burton, who celebrated their 75th birthday: "May they live long and prosper." See *Mitchel Commercial*, October 19, 1882, 3.

¹⁶ See, for example, John Elfreth Watkins, Jr., "What May Happen in the Next 100 Years," *Ladies Home Journal* (December 1900): 8, accessed December 27, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/J._Elfreth_Watkins#/media/File:John_Elfreth_Watkins_Ladies_Home_Journal_Predictions_1900.jpg. Watkins correctly predicted airplanes and spacecraft, a taller human race, photographs "telegraphed" instantaneously around the world, mobile phones, and "forts on wheels" (military tanks).

¹⁷ Fabian, *Unvarnished Truth*, 5.

¹⁸ See the following for examples of the eminent-editor persona: James Parton, *The Life of Horace Greeley* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1889); Denis Brian, *Pulitzer: A Life* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2001); Oliver Carlson, *The Made Who Made News: James Gordon Bennett* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pierce, 1942); and David Nasaw, *The Chief: The Life of William Randolph Hearst* (Boston: Mariner Books, 2013).

¹⁹ Griffith, *Home Town News*, 159.

²⁰ For examples, see *Mitchel(l) Commercial*, June 1, 1876, 4; January 27, 1881, 2; February 17, 1881, 2; February 24, 1881, 3; March 17, 1881, 3; March 31, 1881, 2; May 26, 1881, 2; January 5, 1882, 3; March 9, 1882, 3; June 1, 1882, 3; July 13, 1882, 3; and August 24, 1882, 2.

²¹ Ibid., 166.

²² Carey, "A Cultural Approach," 18.

²³ Fabian, *Unvarnished Truth*, 5.

²⁴ Entman, "Fractured Paradigm," 51.

²⁵ Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, xix.

²⁶ Carey, "Journalism History," 4.

²⁷ Huckin, "On Textual Silences," 419.

²⁸ Carey, "Journalism History," 5.

²⁹ *Mitchel Commercial*, October 20, 1881, 2.

³⁰ See Lawrence County, Indiana, *General Index of Deeds (Grantee), December 1882–March 1890*, for the following dates, books, and page numbers: April 26, 1883, 15, 254; May 22, 1883, 15, 254; August 3, 1885, 17, 339; July 19, 1886, 18, 237; and December 31, 1888, 20, 339.

³¹ See, for example, *Mitchel Commercial*, February 17, 1881, 2; March 3, 1881, 3; and March 10, 1881, 2.

³² See the following for examples of studies or commentaries about the role of boosterism in the westward expansion of the United States: Don Harrison Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825–70* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1978); Hage, *Minnesota Frontier*; Lyon, *Pioneer Editor*; Boorstin, *The Americans*; Walter Prescott Webb, "The American West: Perpetual Mirage," *Harper's Magazine* 214 (May 1957): 25–31; and Paul Hirt, Annie Gustafson, and Kelli L. Larson, "The Mirage in the Valley of the Sun," *Environmental History* 13, no. 3 (July 2008): 482–514.

Specifically, see Doyle, *Frontier Community*, 40, 62, 91, for examples of how boosters tended to deny internal conflict and translated diversity into social cooperation; linked goals of individuals to a town's collective destiny; and brought enemies together across political, religious, and economic spectrums for the common good. See also Cloud, *Business of Newspapers*, 13, 16, 36, 123, for examples of how boosters worked with newspapers to promote good transportation systems, how newspaper exchanges helped the booster press and increased readership, and how newspapermen themselves wanted towns to succeed so that they could remain and help build the community.

³³ "How Aspens Grow," accessed September 9, 2016, <http://www.fs.fed.us/wildflowers/beauty/aspens/grow.shtml>.

³⁴ Stephen Rendahl, "Frame Analysis: From Interpersonal to Mass Communication" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Central State Communication Association, Indianapolis, Indiana, May 1995); Hallahan, "Seven Models," 205–206.

³⁵ See Huckin, "Discourse of Homelessness," 354. In that article, Huckin states, "What distinguishes manipulative silences from all other types of silence is that they intentionally mislead or deceive the reader or listener in a way that is advantageous to the writer/speaker. This is accomplished largely through the use of framing." While Huckin mentions a connection between textual silences and framing, he does not explore the relationship of the two in great detail.

³⁶ Entman, "Fractured Paradigm," 51.

³⁷ For examples, see Joyce Appleby, "Postmodernism and the Crisis of Modernity," in *Telling the Truth about History*, eds. Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), 225, where Appleby states that traditionalists reject theory as an "unnecessary, even unhealthy intrusion . . . into the domain of history;" and McPherson, "Theory in History," 138, where McPherson states,

“History is gloriously complicated, and theoretical explanations either are too narrow or too broad to be of much use.”

³⁸ Carey, “Journalism History,” 4.

³⁹ Lindlof and Meyer, “Mediated Communication,” 27.

⁴⁰ Peters, “Communication Problem,” 22.

⁴¹ Carey, “Journalism History,” 4.

⁴² *Gandhi*, directed by Richard Attenborough (1982; Burbank, CA: Columbia TriStar Home Entertainment, 2003), DVD, italics added.

⁴³ Griffith, *Home Town News*, 93.

⁴⁴ William Allen White, “The Country Newspaper,” *Harper’s Magazine* 132, no. 792 (May 1916): 891.

⁴⁵ *Mitchell Commercial*, May 11, 1899, 4.

⁴⁶ Carey, “Problem of Journalism History,” 4, 5.

POSTSCRIPT

All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again.

—*Ecclesiastes 3:20*

“Old Spencer” and Reflections

In October 1881 McIntire made a trip to Spencer County to visit his parents, who still resided there. He recorded his observations and printed them in the *Commercial* as follows:

I left Mitchel [*sic*] at noon Monday, for my boyhood home, in Spencer County, to visit my parents, by the way a remarkable couple, both born before the close of the last century, my father having lived during the last administration of Washington, and takes a lively interest in the present administration of President Arthur, may he go down in history with equal honor with the first. My mother, in her 84th, is nearing her final rest, without disease, and without suffering, and above all, without fear, she approaches the dark river of death, for 63 years a zealous member of the Methodist Church.

I find my associates of thirty and forty years ago growing old, those who are living, but a visit to the old graveyard, this morning, show me where the mortal remains of very many of my childhood associates had gone—in neglected graves were many of the best and noblest.

Until last year this county was not connected with the outer world by railroad, and this isolation has told [*sic*] heavily on the county, other counties without a tithe of the natural advantages of this are far ahead of it in all that make farm life, or village life, enjoyable. The schools are far behind those of Lawrence. The farms look dilapidated, the fine barns, built thirty years ago are now of the tumble-down character. Farmers, who allowed not a briar so grow along their fence rows, are now doing a good business in blackberry raising. But the locomotive whistle is waking the people, the young men step a little faster than their fathers. Sluggards must get out of the way of enterprise in ‘Old Spencer,’ her excellent soil should make her one of the best counties in the State.

E. S. M.
Grass, Spencer Co., Ind.
Oct. 11, 1881.¹

McIntire described his mother's nearing the "dark river of death," so he would have known that he was to see her for the last time. In fact, two days after he posted this travelogue Isabel passed away. It must have been a poignant trip for McIntire, but true to form, he kept his personal feelings and his emotions to a minimum in this account.

As he indicated, Spencer County had been linked to the rest of Indiana by railroad just a year earlier, and McIntire implied that the poor condition of the schools and farms were a direct reflection of that delayed connection. In contrast, the railroad had come to Lawrence County 30 years earlier and by comparison enjoyed a much greater level of prosperity. But McIntire was still hopeful for "Old Spencer," just as he must have been for Mitchell when he arrived there in 1865.

On a trip to conduct research for this dissertation in March 2016, I made a similar journey from Mitchell to Spencer County, where McIntire began his 60-year residence in the Hoosier State. The nearly two-hour drive began on Indiana Highway 37, where I saw horse-drawn carriages driven by Mennonite adherents in hats and garb similar to those worn in McIntire's day. The route cut through Crawford County and Grantsburg, where McIntire lived for two years after his discharge from the Army. From there I traveled west on Interstate 64 for a few miles, then turned south on U.S. 231, past Lincoln City, where McIntire's son Henry, my great-grandfather, was born, and arrived in Rockport, a by now, little-used, waterway layover along the Ohio River with Kentucky on the opposite bank.

Most of the drive took me down narrow, two-lane roads that wound in and around hills that alternated between tree-covered and rocky slopes. Single-wide trailers with

abandoned cars and tractors often caught my eye, as did the occasional American or the less-occasional Confederate flag. It was late winter, and the grays overpowered any other hue observable to the eye, whether it was the budding oak and maple trees, the highway itself, or the fact that the region is still very much a gray area as South gives way to North. The Walmart I passed in Paoli and the coal-fired power plant outside Rockport with its prominent gray cooling towers seemed particularly out of place. The pace of the few Hoosiers I saw along the way seemed slow, and the churches, old gray barns that were once red, with faded advertisements for chewing tobacco, and remnants of last year's cornstalks in the fields all whispered that in many ways this place had not changed all that much since my great-great-grandfather made that visit to Spencer County to see his dying mother.

This same research trip also took me to the place of the McIntire family farm in Ohio that straddled the Monroe-Washington County line. The topography—landform, human, and cultural—and its monochrome color scheme appeared much the same as my drive to and through Spencer County, complete with the odd big-box store, the Stars and Bars, decaying barns, and yellow highway signs warning of horse-drawn vehicles in the area.

It struck me that McIntire left farms in Ohio and Spencer County, Indiana, for greener pastures, both literally and figuratively. For a time in the new place, times probably seemed to be better for him, but then the promise of a richer life beckoned him on to the next challenge. Mitchell became that better place for McIntire, and there is no doubt that as editor and physician he helped it become so for others who followed after him in Lawrence County. It could be argued that the railroad and the Southern Indiana Normal College, both of which McIntire championed in the *Commercial*, helped make

the town. Two large business ventures, the Lehigh Cement Company (located a stone's throw from the McIntire farm) and the Carpenter Body Works, the world's third-largest producer of school buses, established in 1902 and 1922, respectively, helped maintain that momentum by employing hundreds of residents and drawing other supporting businesses to Mitchell.² At the time of my first visit there in 1985, both companies were still prospering, and Mitchell seemed to me a bustling town with thriving businesses in every storefront and abundant foot and vehicle traffic on Main Street.

In the decades between my first and subsequent visits to Mitchell, the bus company closed its doors in 2001 and other businesses left town, leaving many vacancies along Main Street.³ Railroad traffic is also not what it once was through Mitchell, as more of the nation's cargo is today transported by truck, and without a nearby interstate—the nearest such highways are Interstates 64 and 65, which are 46 and 57 miles away, respectively—it does not appear that Mitchell has many options for reclaiming its glory days as a transportation hub.⁴ Today Mitchell finds itself in a similar economic-development boat as McIntire described Spencer County, “where this isolation has told [*sic*] heavily,” but this does not mean imminent ruin for Mitchell and Lawrence County. Growth and progress come in cycles—like the seasons—and towns like Mitchell with good people can survive a figurative, cold-weather, hibernation period and bounce back, just as McIntire did personally, time after time.

Living as far away from Lawrence County as I do, it is unlikely that I will have a role in helping to revitalize McIntire's beloved Mitchell, but I can apply what I have personally learned and received from McIntire's legacy. Much of that application extends far beyond the DNA and surname that he and I share. It includes our in-common military service with significant time away from our families, a love of country, a *per ardua*

persistence through hard work, a love of the written word, the prizing of education, and fierce loyalty to family. I can also be that “young man” McIntire described in 1881, who “steps faster than my [fore]father,” and does some of the things McIntire might wish he had done: being a more expressive diarist and making sure my wife and family hear from my own lips and read from my own pen my gratitude to and love for them, and giving my five daughters equal time and attention with my seven sons in our moments together and in how I record their place in my life for posterity to read.

In conclusion, I understand that it is impossible to capture everything about McIntire’s life that might be of interest or import to his professional and cultural—or in my case, literal—posterity. I also recognize that another historian with access to the same primary materials might write a completely different narrative. But putting my stamp on this study and acknowledging my personal interest in seeing it through makes the connection between story and storyteller a compelling one.

Recall Davidson and Lytle’s maxim that “good history begins with a good story.”⁵ For me, McIntire’s story began with the wonder I felt in handling his old, leather-bound diaries for the first time in my parents’ closet in Chandler, Arizona, in 1976. The sweet taste of that cherry-flavored Bazooka bubble gum I pilfered that day has long since faded; not so with the wonder that still fills me each time I carefully open one of those volumes and see my great-great-grandfather’s handwriting scrawled across the pages.

The Fall chapter in this study concluded with the death and burial of Dr. Elihu S. McIntire, but the story does not end there, just as autumn gives way to winter and a new round of seasons begins. Passages from Scottish poet James Thomson’s epic poem “The Seasons” are scattered throughout the chapters in this dissertation that were named for the seasons. It is fitting that Thomson’s masterpiece *begins* with winter and its regenerative

properties. As McIntire's last life leaves were falling from his tree in his own late-autumn period, the seeds of subsequent generations had already been sown beneath the snow that began to cover the ground. The rough edges of McIntire's gravestone resemble the coarse outlines of his character that emerged in this study, but these are not an indictment of his imperfections; rather, they are lessons for the reader and his posterity to learn from, be inspired by, and pass along to those who follow after them. Dr. Elihu S. McIntire's passing into history was not only an end, it was also a beginning—like winter.

Notes from Postscript

¹ *Mitchel Commercial*, October 13, 1881, 2.

² Stroud, *My Legacy*, 229, 279.

³ “The End Comes for Carpenter Body Works,” accessed September 11, 2016, <http://lawrencecountyhistory.org/carpenter-schoolbus-exhibit/>.

⁴ “Growth in the Nation’s Freight Shipments—Highlights,” accessed September 11, 2016, http://www.rita.dot.gov/bts/sites/rita.dot.gov/bts/files/publications/freight_shipments_in_america/html/entire.html. According to the report, in 2002 trucking accounted for 58 percent of the tonnage hauled nationwide, more than doubling what was transported by rail, at 28 percent.

⁵ Davidson and Lytle, *After the Fact*, xiv.

APPENDIX A

NAME, PARENTAGE, AND HERITAGE

According to Highland historian Seton Gordon, the MacIntyre clan came to live on Scotland's Loch Etive in the fourteenth century. Accounts differ on whether the original home of the MacIntyres was in the Hebrides; on Skye, an island off the northwestern coast of Scotland; or on the peninsula of Kintyre.¹ On Loch Etive the MacIntyres prospered for centuries, and they became foresters, or game wardens, to the ruling Stewarts and later to the Campbells. MacIntyres were also hereditary pipers to the Mackenzies and claimed the famous 18th-century Gaelic bard Duncan *Bàn* MacIntyre (1724–1812) as one of their own.² Duncan was known for writing verses lampooning the herein-cited Samuel Johnson, the great English writer, moralist, and compiler of the first English dictionary, because of his characterization of Highlanders as barbarous and rude.³

The spelling of MacIntyre is the anglicized version of *Mac an t-Saoir*, meaning “son of the carpenter,” and the clan motto is *Per ardua*, which is Latin for “through difficulty.”⁴ The spelling of *McIntire* is a variant of the more-common *McIntyre*, which, according to family lore, came about when Protestant Scottish McIntyres emigrated to Ireland. To avoid confusion with their Irish Catholic counterparts, they changed their surname's spelling to *McIntire*.⁵

Elihu means “God, the Lord.”⁶ McIntire’s first name was most likely taken from the Bible, where Elihu appears in Job, chapters 32–37, as the one who scolds Job’s friends, has a thoughtful dialogue with him, and reminds Job of the greatness of God. At birth Elihu was given no middle name, but he adopted the initial ‘S’ at some point in his adult life, and in most references to him in newspapers and other printed sources he is listed as E. S. McIntire. One newspaper clipping lists Stevenson as his middle name, but one family account maintains that Stephen was the name behind the ‘S.’⁷

No information about McIntire’s paternal genealogy is known beyond his grandfather, David McIntire (1770?–1804). He married 24-year-old Margaret Mahan in 1795 in what is now Northern Ireland. One source states that Margaret was born near Belfast in Antrim County, Ulster, and it is likely that David also hailed from that area because Antrim at that time was densely Scottish in its makeup.⁸ Ulster has experienced centuries of strife, from clan-level squabbles to Norman invasions to finally English control in the early 1600s. To ensure loyalty to the Crown, colonies of Anglican British transplants and Presbyterians from Scotland were organized in Ulster, the largest plantation of which was controlled by James I of England, beginning in 1610.⁹ It is possible that David’s ancestors may have come to Northern Ireland from Scotland during this period or shortly after when the bloody—in the descriptive and not pejorative sense—Scottish Wars of the Covenant in the 17th century were in full swing, with their links to the complex Irish and English religious and political issues of the time.¹⁰

Sectarian clashes between pro-British Protestants and pro-independence Catholics were tempered during most of the 1700s only to resurface in the 1790s. The United Irishmen were founded to push for a nonsectarian, independent Irish Republic, and their methods were far from pacifist. Adding to the tension was the fact that British Anglicans

were afforded rights denied to both Presbyterians and Catholics in Ulster. In 1798 the United Irishmen mounted a Presbyterian-supported rebellion that was quashed by British authorities, who then engaged in harsh repression in the aftermath.¹¹

No surviving record indicates the specific reasons why David and Margaret sought a new life in America, but the political and religious unrest in their homeland could have been a factor. By this time, David and Margaret's oldest son Charles, father of Elihu McIntire, had been born in 1796, and Charles's sister Margaret followed in 1798. The McIntire family emigrated on a sailboat, according to one family account, that same year to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and later moved to Derry Township, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, about 50 miles east of Pittsburgh.¹²

Two more children, David and William, were born to David and Margaret in Pennsylvania before father David died from drowning in 1804. Margaret later married a man named Thomas Groves and had five children by him: Mary, Anne, Nellie, James, and Sarah.¹³ No death date is known for Margaret (Mahan McIntire) Groves, but she was listed as being 79 years of age in the 1850 U.S. Census, living in the household of son James Groves in Ludlow Township, Washington County, Ohio.¹⁴

Peter Dailey, maternal grandfather to Elihu McIntire, was born in Pennsylvania between 1753 and 1762.¹⁵ His parents were James Dailey and Catherine Ratchford, natives of County Dublin, Ireland. They emigrated to Pennsylvania sometime between their marriage at St. Catherine's in County Dublin in 1749 and the birth of their first child, Mariah, who was born in 1752 in Pennsylvania.¹⁶ Peter served in Captain James Archer's militia company of the first Battalion in Washington County, Pennsylvania, in the Revolutionary War and married Mary Ann Wiley about 1786, who was born in Pennsylvania about 1766.¹⁷ Preceding Mary were four generations born in America, with

ancestors emigrating from England, Scotland, and the Netherlands in the late 1600s and early 1700s.¹⁸

Peter Dailey purchased a thousand acres of land along Sugar Tree Creek in Ohio County, (West) Virginia in 1797.¹⁹ He moved his family from Pennsylvania to (West) Virginia, where their ninth of ten children, Isabel Dailey, mother of Elihu McIntire, was born in 1798. Peter Dailey died in 1804, ironically, the same death year as Elihu McIntire's other grandfather, David McIntire. In his 1804 will, Peter left his wife Mary "two milk cows and [his] household furniture," bequeathed to his five sons equal shares of his land, and directed that his "daughters Mary and Nancy be bound by [his] executors to reputable people such as they in their discretion may make choice of."²⁰ For unknown reasons Peter Dailey's oldest daughter, Sarah, and his two youngest daughters, Isabel and Phoebe, who were six and four at the time, respectively, were not mentioned in his will at all.

After Peter's death, James Dailey, his brother, was made guardian of his underage nephew Jacob (Peter's son). James and Jacob, along with other family members, moved to Seneca Township, Belmont County (later Monroe County), Ohio, to join John Dailey, a relative, who had settled in Seneca Township in 1802, and who later founded the town of Calais in that township.²¹ That move occurred prior to 1813, when Monroe County was created from sections of Belmont, Guernsey, and Washington Counties. Mary, Peter's wife, was not identified in the group that went west to Ohio, but Mary Dailey was listed as paying an annual tax in 1822 of \$1.10 as a resident of Ludlow Township, Washington County, Ohio, the county adjacent to Monroe County.²² It is probable that Mary and her still-at-home children made their way to the Belmont (Monroe)-

Washington County area between 1804 and 1817 when her daughter, Nancy Dailey, married Stephen Parr in 1817 in Washington County, Ohio.²³

Elihu McIntire's grandmothers, Mary Ann Wiley Dailey and Margaret Mahan McIntire Groves, had much in common: they were born about five years apart, were mothers to ten and nine children, respectively, and were widowed in the same year, 1804. Interestingly, Margaret chose to remarry and later bore five more children, but Mary remained single, and opted to follow her children from (West) Virginia to Ohio. Perhaps the acreage left to Mary Ann Wiley Dailey's sons offered some financial resources to her that were not available to Margaret Mahan McIntire Groves.

Elihu McIntire's relationship with his grandmothers is not a matter of record, and it is unclear how long he might have had direct contact with them before his family moved west in 1839 when he was seven. Conflicting dates place Mary Ann Wiley Dailey's death in Ohio between 1837 and 1840, and the last known whereabouts of Margaret Mahan McIntire Groves was also in Ohio in 1850 when she lived in the household of her son James M. Groves.²⁴ Consequently, the last time Elihu might have seen his grandmothers would have been at age seven—and perhaps as young as five in the case of his maternal grandmother Mary Ann Wiley Dailey.

A brief history of Monroe County, Ohio, stated that “Thomas W. Groves and wife, and a Mrs. Dailey” were charter members of an “M. E. (Methodist Episcopal) Church, at the house of Joseph Cline, when and where the first sermon was preached, in 1817, by Rev. Robert C. Hatten.”²⁵ The “wife” referred to in this account could have been Margaret Mahan McIntire Groves, and it is possible that “Mrs. Dailey” was Mary Ann Wiley Dailey. It is known that Thomas Groves was the second husband of Margaret Mahan McIntire, mother of Charles McIntire, who, along with his son Elihu, were

lifelong Methodists. It is probable that Charles' mother Margaret was also Methodist. Isabel Dailey McIntire, Elihu's mother, was a Methodist adherent from her youth, and it is possible that her mother, Mrs. [Mary Ann Wiley] Dailey, was Methodist as well.²⁶ That 1817 church meeting might have placed Charles's and Isabel's mothers together as worshippers in the same cramped cabin, which Joseph Cline had built just the year before.²⁷ No concrete information is known about Charles and Isabel's first meeting and subsequent courtship, but piecing together these few isolated facts at least offers a scenario where their mothers might have met each other for the first time at a worship service.

Charles McIntire was married to Isabel Dailey about 1820 in Washington County, Ohio. Interestingly, Charles's brother William married Phoebe Dailey, Isabel's sister, in the same year in the same county—a double wedding, perhaps. There are few clues about Charles' activities prior to and immediately following his marriage. One account suggests that as a young man he traveled down the Ohio River on a keelboat to New Orleans and later walked or rode a horse back to Ohio.²⁸ An 1821 deed for land Charles purchased in Monroe County, Ohio, states that he was a resident of Tyler County, (West) Virginia. Monroe and Tyler Counties shared—and still share—a common boundary: the state line between Ohio and (West) Virginia, which happens to be the Ohio River. So in terms of distance, in 1821 Charles was just a few miles away from where his mother, Margaret Mahan McIntire Groves, and other family members lived in Monroe County. One possibility is that after Charles and Isabel married in Ohio they went to live across the river in (West) Virginia where Charles was working, most likely as a farm hand, and returned when Charles purchased the land in Monroe County, Ohio, that later became his family's farm.²⁹ Charles and Isabel's oldest child, Esau, was born in Ohio in September

1821, so the couple must have moved onto their land sometime before then.

Charles was a lifelong farmer, having homesteaded in Monroe-Washington County, Ohio, and later in Grass Township, Spencer County, Indiana. He left no personal record, but newspaper and history books reported that he was active in local Masonic Lodge no. 112, in Rockport, Indiana, and was a charter member of Parr's Chapel of the Methodist Church in Spencer County about 1850.³⁰ Charles also took an interest in politics, serving as a Democratic delegate in Spencer County and later as a delegate for the National Union Party (the name given to the Republican Party's national ticket in 1864) in Grass Township.³¹ It is not known what prompted Charles to switch parties. Charles passed away in 1885 in Spencer County, Indiana, and his death was noted briefly among other such notices in the *Indiana Pocket*, a local weekly, as follows: "Died, Mr. Jake Stateler, on Saturday, March 28. Also, Mr. Chas. McIntire, on Saturday, March 28th, aged 89 years."³²

Details of Isabel's life are even more sketchy than her husband's. The two existing public records that mention her both refer to her activities as an adherent: as an "early member" of a log church and her "zealous" religious observance as a lifelong Methodist.³³ Her own son Elihu did not mention his mother a single time in his surviving diaries, but he did print her obituary, one of the two "public records" mentioned herein, in the *Mitchel Commercial* after her death in 1881.³⁴ Without doubt Isabel was at Charles's side during their struggle to run the farm and rear their family, but there is no record beyond what has been cited here; thus, surviving accounts of other pioneer women at least offer a general sense of what life was like for Isabel and her frontier sisters.³⁵

Nine children were born to Charles and Isabel McIntire: Esau (b. 1821), Maria (b. 1824), Eleanor (b. 1827), Dorcas (b. 1828), Jehu (b. 1830), Elihu (b. 1832), Albert (b.

1835), Isabel (b. 1839), and Margaret (b. 1842). The oldest six, ending with Elihu, were born on or near the farm in Ohio, Albert was born in Hamilton County, Ohio (near Cincinnati), and Isabel and Margaret were born in Spencer County, Indiana, where the family later moved.³⁶ Three of Elihu's siblings passed away in early adulthood. Esau (1821–1846), a soldier in the Mexican War, was killed at age 26, and his remains were buried in the Mexico City National Cemetery.³⁷ Maria (1824–1843) and Albert (1835–1854) both died at about age 19 while the family resided in Spencer County, Indiana.³⁸

Notes from Appendix A

¹ McOwan, *The MacIntyres*, 16–17.

² Grant, *Scottish Clans*, 171.

³ McOwan, *The MacIntyres*, 20.

⁴ Grant, *Scottish Clans*, 171; McOwan, *The MacIntyres*, 2, 17.

⁵ From a story told to the researcher by Earl Henry McIntire, his grandfather, to explain why the family uses the less-common spelling of *McIntire* for its surname.

⁶ Lareina Rule, *Name Your Baby* (New York: Bantam Books, 1966), 134.

⁷ The *Cincinnati Enquirer*, March 3, 1882, 8, lists “Stevenson” as McIntire’s middle name as part of a list of graduates from the Cincinnati College of Medicine and Surgery. A typewritten account, probably written by John Bowers McIntire, noted that Elihu McIntire adopted the name Stephen as his middle name “so as to have two initials.”

⁸ From an account by Elaine Geren Wilkinson, accessed March 9, 2016, <http://mv.ancestry.co.uk/viewer/0a32cd70-1257-4589-a35f-7ef956791c87/69216087/44195977152>. See also R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600–1972* (London: Penguin Books, 1988), 60.

⁹ Webb, *Born Fighting*, 68.

¹⁰ McOwan, *The MacIntyre*, 23; Webb, *Born Fighting*, 73.

¹¹ Philip Harwood, *History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798* (London: Chapman and Elcoate, 1844), 1–24.

¹² *Eminent and Self-made Men*, 1:24. Two other sources for the genealogy and how David McIntire and family arrived in America are a typewritten page in possession of Nancy Lakin, great-granddaughter of Elihu S. McIntire through his youngest son, John Bowers McIntire and a dictated history, most likely given by John Bowers McIntire, in possession of the researcher; 1800 United States Census, Derry Township, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania.

¹³ From a typewritten family-history page in possession of Nancy Lakin, great-granddaughter of Elihu S. McIntire. McIntire mentioned his “old uncle” James Groves twice in his diaries. See ESM, March 9, 1888, and October 14, 1892.

¹⁴ 1850 U.S. Census, Ludlow Township, Washington County, Ohio, 494. Margaret (Mahan McIntire) Groves does not appear in the 1860 U.S. Census as a member of her son James Groves’ household, so it is probable that she passed away sometime between 1850 and 1860.

¹⁵ One source, “Genealogy Report: Ancestors of Mary Loretta Dailey,” accessed March 2, 2016, <http://www.genealogy.com/ftm/s/t/o/Cheri-A-Storlieschmidt/GENE6-0005.html>, indicates that Peter Dailey was born “about 1753.” Another source by Barbara Celestine Dayley, “Our ‘Dailey’ Family: A Wee Bit of Irish,” accessed March 2, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/patron/v2/TH-303-40925-96-10/dist.txt?ctx=ArtCtxPublic>, states that Peter Dailey was about 42 years old at the time of his death in 1804, which places his birth year about 1762.

¹⁶ “James Dailey,” accessed March 25, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/tree/person/LD16-2X9/details>.

¹⁷ “Mary Ann Wiley,” accessed March 25, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/tree/person/LH7B-694/details>. Nancy Lakin’s family-history document, based on a written history

given in 1910 by Isabel McIntire Robbins, sister to Elihu S. McIntire, that stated that Mary Ann Wiley Dailey was born in Bracken County, Kentucky.

¹⁸ Mary Ann Wiley's parents, Richard Wiley and Rachel Van Meter, were born in Pennsylvania; her maternal grandparents, Henry Van Meter and Martha Margaret Moore, were born in Pennsylvania and Maryland, respectively; her maternal great-grandparents Abraham Van Meter and Elizabeth Burns, and George Moore and Elizabeth Lucas, were born in New Jersey, Scotland, Maryland, and Maryland, respectively; and her great-great-grandparents, Jost Jensen Van Meter and Sarah Du Bois, and Thomas Lucas and Dorothy (last name unknown), were born in the Netherlands, New York, England, and unknown, respectively, accessed November 26, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/tree/person/LH7B-694/details>.

¹⁹ Dayley, "Our 'Dailey' Family." This and subsequent renditions of "(West)" is to indicate that the location referred to is currently in West Virginia but was part of the original Commonwealth of Virginia at the time. West Virginia was officially separated from Virginia when it became a state in 1863.

²⁰ J. D. Dayley and Barbara Dayley, "Our Dailey Family Summary," a typewritten history, 5–6.

²¹ Dayley and Dayley, "Dailey Family," 1–2; see also *Combined History of Monroe County, Ohio* (Chicago: H. H. Hardesty & Co., 1882), 220, accessed January 18, 2017, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE85855.

²² Ludlow Township, Washington County, Ohio, tax records for 1822; "Mary Dailey Ohio Tax Records," accessed March 25, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:JSR6-GNP>.

²³ "Nancy Dailey," accessed March 25, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/tree/person/LH7B-6XY/details>.

²⁴ See <https://familysearch.org/tree/#view=ancestor§ion=details&person=LH7B-694>, accessed March 31, 2016, which places Mary Ann Wiley Dailey's death year as 1840. Nancy Lakin's family-history record states that she died in 1837. Margaret (Mahan McIntire) Groves, age 79, is listed as a member of James Groves' household in the 1850 U.S. Census of Ludlow Township, Washington County, Ohio.

²⁵ *Combined History of Monroe County, Ohio* (Chicago: H. H. Hardesty & Co., 1882), 220, accessed January 18, 2017, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE85855.

²⁶ *Mitchel Commercial*, October 20, 1881, 2. Her obituary indicated that she "was for sixty-two years a zealous member of the Methodist Church," which means she began affiliation with that faith in 1818–1819, shortly after the time that her mother "Mrs. Dailey" began attending the M. E. church in Washington Township, Monroe County, Ohio.

²⁷ *Combined History of Monroe County*, 220.

²⁸ From an undated, typewritten account, probably written by John Bowers McIntire, in possession of the McIntire family.

²⁹ See *History of Warrick*, 529, which indicated that Charles McIntire's occupation had always been farming.

³⁰ *History of Warrick*, 337, 431, 529.

³¹ See the Rockport *Planter*, June 26, 1852, 2; and the Evansville (IN) *Daily Journal*, February 16, 1864, 1. See also Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., ed., *History of U.S. Political*

Parties: Vol. II; 1860–1910, The Gilded Age of Politics (New York: Chelsea House, 1973), 2:1287).

³² *Indiana Pocket*, April 4, 1885.

³³ *History of Warrick*, 428; *Mitchel Commercial*, October 20, 1881, 2.

³⁴ *Mitchel Commercial*, October 20, 1881, 2. McIntire did refer to his father six times in his diaries. See ESM, September 28, 1871; December 16, 1871; December 19, 1871; December 20, 1871; December 21, 1871; and December 14, 1898.

³⁵ See, for example, Emily Foster, ed., *American Grit: A Woman's Letters from the Ohio Frontier* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2002, or Hoffert, "Childbearing," 272–288.

³⁶ "Charles McIntire," accessed January 19, 2017, http://www.ancestry.ca/genealogy/records/charles-mcintire_52646245?geo_a=r&geo_s=ca&geo_t=ca&geo_v=2.0.0&o_iid=41016&o_lid=41016&o_sch=Web+Property.

³⁷ "Mexico City National Cemetery," accessed March 2, 2016, <http://mv.ancestry.com/viewer/7147b7b3-9d80-489c-91cc-fb87b5af3a09/10772024/24049875425>.

³⁸ "Charles McIntire," accessed January 19, 2017, http://www.ancestry.ca/genealogy/records/charles-mcintire_52646245?geo_a=r&geo_s=ca&geo_t=ca&geo_v=2.0.0&o_iid=41016&o_lid=41016&o_sch=Web+Property.

APPENDIX B

LIFE ON THE OHIO FARM

For Charles and Isabel McIntire, getting established on their Ohio farm in the early 1820s might have involved constructing a log home and outbuildings to include a barn, smokehouse, and privy. It was typical in the area to have cabin- or barn-raising, which would have involved both men and women from neighboring farms. The men would level the spaces where the structures would go, removing rocks, scraping the soil, and felling trees large enough to make suitable logs for building material. The women would be minding the children to keep them out from underfoot of the men and preparing morning, noonday and evening meals for dozens, trying to do so without suitable furniture or utensils.¹ These raisings sometimes extended over a period of days or weeks, depending on the available help.² With at least some of Charles and Isabel's family members nearby, they might have had sufficient numbers to set up their homestead without needing a great deal of neighbor help, but accounts from the period suggest that frontier families were generally willing to help one another, paying in work what they could not trade or buy with money.³

Building a privy would likely have been a high priority for Elihu's mother Isabel on the new place. A deep hole near the cabin would have been dug with a foundation of rocks or gravel and a wooden structure placed over it. It might have been a one- or two-

holer, with the option to expand the capacity as the family grew. Interior privy walls were often whitewashed, and the chamber furnished with newspapers for reading or hygienic purposes. Corncobs and swatches of old fabric may have also been well used there, but not for reading material. A chamber pot was typically available for service in the house if the weather was too extreme or there was some other reason why a family member could not “take the path out back.”⁴

Once adequate shelter for the family and the animals had been established, which process might have been accelerated with Isabel’s expecting their first child that fall, the next task would be to clear fields and fence them for planting. Following the house-raising pattern, men and older boys from surrounding farms might be called in, leaving their homes at daybreak and returning at sundown to burn brush, dig up roots and stumps (a process called *grubbing*), plowing, and sowing seeds.⁵ Group work did not end when the land was cleared; rather, farmers and farm boys would help one another at planting and harvest time, and the process would be repeated year after year.⁶

Vegetable gardens were also a must and needed constant attention from mothers and children to keep the family supplied with potatoes, beans, turnips, cucumbers, watermelons, cantaloupes, and the like. Fruit trees and vines, also planted near the house, provided apples, peaches, cherries, grapes, and plums for pies, preserves, or fresh eating, and they supplemented the wild cherries, elderberries, currants, and gooseberries that grew nearby.⁷ And to meet basic water needs for drinking, cooking, and cleaning, a spring, a well, the river, or a generous neighbor were ready sources.⁸

Farm women, for their part, on top of seeing to children’s needs and the household chores, would again be called upon to make meals for the workers in the fields. A typical meal for these hungry men might consist of ham, potatoes, stewed fruit,

baked pies, bread and butter, pudding, and coffee.⁹ Often the most time-consuming task of frontier-farm women at that time was preparing and cooking meals.¹⁰ This was a daily chore with no days off or holidays. Washing might occupy one or more days during the week, and that involved heating the wash water over a hot stove or open fire, scrubbing on a washboard with homemade soap, rinsing and wringing the newly cleaned clothes, and hanging them outside on the line or in the cabin if the weather was wet or cold.¹¹ Ironing, sewing, mending, and candle-making would also be frequent tasks for the mother of the house or an older daughter.¹² Then there would be caring for the younger children not at school or old enough to work in the fields or around the house.

And the challenges for the women did not end there; there was also the matter of doing these chores while pregnant or caring for a newborn or a sick child, husband, or being ill or worn out themselves. Isabel gave birth to nine children in a span of 21 years (1821–1842), so it was a rare interval indeed during that stretch when she was not pregnant or nursing—or at times, both.¹³ Aside from pregnancy, common maladies in the backwoods included toothache, stomach ailments, chicken pox, whooping cough, measles, typhus, ague (malaria), and dysentery. In response, mothers usually did their own doctoring with remedies such as salt, vinegar, camphor, wine drops, castor oil, peppermint, cayenne pepper, poultices, and calomel—mercurous chloride, administered by doctors and mothers, which today is acknowledged to be a form of poisoning that in hindsight usually did more harm than good. In more serious cases, bloodletting, blistering, and purging were often employed, even with small children.¹⁴

As difficult as life was for women like Isabel on the Ohio frontier, they had each other to turn to for support, encouragement, and comfort. Neighbor women, once made aware of an unmet need for a nearby family, often sent milk, cream, butter, eggs, bread,

vegetables, or came in person to simply be there or offer assistance with a sick child, injured animal, or to cook or clean. These needs were most likely communicated exclusively between or among women, and women were usually the means through which challenges were overcome, which fostered a strong sisterhood through their shared struggles.¹⁵

Notes from Appendix B

¹ Foster, *American Grit*, 21, 47–48. Foster’s account is taken from the letters of Anna Briggs Bentley, a Quaker woman who wrote faithfully from 1826 to 1881 from her farm in Columbiana County, Ohio, to her relatives in Maryland to describe her homestead life with husband Joseph and her 13 children. The letters are among the Briggs-Stabler Family Papers (1793–1910) in possession of the Maryland Historical Society (321). Columbiana County lies about 100 miles to the north of the McIntire farm in Monroe County, Ohio, so many of Isabel Dailey McIntire’s experiences on their Ohio farm might have mirrored what was described by Anna. Using Anna Briggs Bentley’s experiences as a reference point for what Charles and Isabel Dailey McIntire might have seen and felt is in response to Carey’s call to capture “the structure and feeling” and “how it *felt* to live and act in [that] particular period of human history.” See Carey, “Journalism History,” 4, italics added.

² Foster, *American Grit*, 48.

³ Ibid., 37–39, 41; Warren, *Pioneer Girl*, 23.

⁴ Warren, *Pioneer Girl*, 26–27. Sarah Elizabeth Hunt McIntire, the researcher’s paternal grandmother, used the term “the path out back” to refer to trips to the outhouse that she and her family members took on their farm in Greene County, Indiana, in the 1920s.

⁵ Foster, *American Grit*, 27.

⁶ Ibid., 38.

⁷ Ibid., 25, 37, 39, 60.

⁸ Warren, *Pioneer Girl*, 19, 23; Foster, *American Grit*, 23.

⁹ Foster, *American Grit*, 47, 58.

¹⁰ Warren, *Pioneer Girl*, 25.

¹¹ Warren, *Pioneer Girl*, 25; Foster, *American Grit*, 33.

¹² Foster, *American Grit*, 26, 28, 40, 50, 68.

¹³ See a listing of Isabel Dailey McIntire’s children and birthdates, accessed October 29, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/tree/person/K46C-J1P/details>.

¹⁴ Foster, *American Grit*, 30, 35, 46, 50, 62–64, 106–107.

¹⁵ Warren, *Pioneer Girl*, 22; Foster, *American Grit*, 33, 36–37, 40–41, 47, 51, 59.

APPENDIX C

JOURNAL-ENTRY CATEGORIES

The following is a comprehensive listing of themes, the number of occurrences of each theme, and their corresponding percentages of entries for Elihu S. McIntire's entire diary, his preinvalid years, and his invalid years.

Entire Diary (3,007 entries). Themes, occurrences, and percentages.

Theme	Number of occurrences	Percentage of total
Weather	1,955	65.01
Health	1,035	34.42
Family	997	33.16
Farm	607	20.19
Visitors	545	18.12
Business	524	17.43
News	300	10.00
<i>Mitchel(l) Commercial</i>	251	8.35
Events	202	6.72
Travel by Rail	202	6.72
Economic Concerns	199	6.62
Reading Material	194	6.45
Emotion	173	5.75
Letters	156	5.19
Politics	143	4.76
Travel by Horse	119	3.96
Job Printing	117	3.90
Flora (Plants)	93	3.10
Death	81	2.69
Travel on Foot	73	2.43
Masonic Activities	72	2.39
Church	70	2.33
Medical Practice	69	2.29

Entire Diary (continued). Themes, occurrences, and percentages.

Fauna (Nonfarm animals)	58	1.90
Drugs	43	1.43
Recreation	41	1.36
Military	37	1.20
Subscriptions	33	1.10
Geology	30	1.00
House	30	1.00
Astronomical	28	0.09
Coal	26	0.09
Employment	25	0.08
Holidays	25	0.08
Advertising	22	0.07
Pension Check	22	0.07
Medical Society	21	0.07
Pension Voucher	18	0.06
Wood	18	0.06
Bath	17	0.06
Sightseeing	13	0.04
Diary	11	0.04
Exchanges	11	0.04
At Home	10	0.03
G. A. R.	9	0.03
Horticultural Society	9	0.03
Rival Papers	8	0.03
Negroes	7	0.02
Criticism (of others)	6	0.02
Haircut	6	0.02
Microscope	6	0.02
Photographs	4	0.01
Charitable Activities	3	0.01
Travel by Boat	3	0.01
Alcohol	1	0.00

Preinvalid Years (1,881 entries). Themes, occurrences, and percentages.

Theme	Number of occurrences	Percentage of total entries
<hr/>		
Weather	1,345	71.50
Business	524	27.86
Family	520	27.64

Preinvalid Years (continued). Themes, occurrences, and percentages.

Farm	376	19.99
Health	309	16.43
<i>Mitchel(l) Commercial</i>	245	13.02
Visitors	220	11.70
News	190	10.10
Reading Material	177	9.41
Economic Concerns	172	9.14
Travel by Rail	164	8.72
Events	158	8.40
Job Printing	117	6.22
Politics	116	6.17
Travel by Horse	99	5.26
Emotion	95	5.05
Letters	94	5.00
Masonic Activities	72	3.83
Church	68	3.62
Medical Practice	68	3.62
Travel on Foot	60	3.19
Flora (Plants)	55	2.92
Death	54	2.87
Recreation	40	2.13
Fauna (Nonfarm animals)	37	1.97
Subscriptions	33	1.75
Geology	29	1.54
Employment	25	1.33
Advertising	22	1.17
Astronomical	21	1.12
Medical Society	21	1.12
Military	21	1.12
House	19	1.01
Holidays	13	0.07
Sightseeing	13	0.07
Coal	12	0.06
Pension Check	12	0.06
Wood	12	0.06
Exchanges	11	0.06
At Home	10	0.05
Pension Voucher	10	0.05
Horticultural Society	9	0.05
Rival Papers	8	0.04
Negroes	7	0.04
Drugs	6	0.03
Microscope	6	0.03

Preinvalid Years (continued). Themes, occurrences, and percentages.

G. A. R.	5	0.03
Diary	4	0.02
Charitable Activities	3	0.02
Criticism (of others)	3	0.02
Bath	2	0.01
Alcohol	1	0.01
Photographs	1	0.01
Travel by Boat	1	0.01
Haircut	0	0.00

Invalid Years (1,126 entries). Themes, occurrences, and percentages.

Theme	Number of occurrences	Percentage of total
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Health	726	64.48
Weather	610	54.17
Family	477	42.36
Visitors	325	28.86
Farm	231	20.52
News	110	9.77
Emotion	78	6.92
Letters	62	5.51
Events	44	3.90
Flora (Plants)	38	3.37
Travel by Rail	38	3.37
Drugs	37	3.29
Death	27	2.40
Economic Concerns	27	2.40
Politics	27	2.40
Travel by Horse	20	1.78
Fauna (Nonfarm animals)	21	1.87
Reading Material	17	1.51
Military	16	1.42
Bath	15	1.33
Travel on Foot	13	1.15
Holidays	12	1.07
House	11	0.98
Coal	11	0.98
Pension Check	10	0.89

Invalid Years (continued). Themes, occurrences, and percentages.

Pension Voucher	8	0.71
Astronomical	7	0.62
Diary	7	0.62
Wood	6	0.53
Haircut	6	0.53
<i>Mitchel(l) Commercial</i>	6	0.53
G. A. R.	4	0.36
Criticism (of others)	3	0.27
Photographs	3	0.27
Church	2	0.18
Travel by Boat	2	0.18
Geology	1	0.09
Medical Practice	1	0.09
Recreation	1	0.09
Advertising	0	0.00
Alcohol	0	0.00
At Home	0	0.00
Business	0	0.00
Charitable Activities	0	0.00
Employment	0	0.00
Exchanges	0	0.00
Horticultural Society	0	0.00
Job Printing	0	0.00
Masonic Activities	0	0.00
Medical Society	0	0.00
Microscope	0	0.00
Negroes	0	0.00
Rival Papers	0	0.00
Sightseeing	0	0.00
Subscriptions	0	0.00

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